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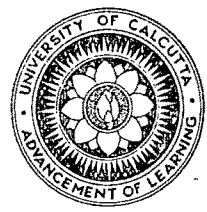

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
OCTOBER, Dec. 1940

SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

Sir P. C. Rây, Kt.

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XI

Learning of Shakespeare (*continued*)

In the previous article an attempt was made to present the reader with a general background of the learning which prevailed in England during the years of Shakespeare's boyhood and youth. In the present an attempt will be made to go deeper into the subject and see if Shakespeare read the classical and the continental tongues in the originals or in the available translations.

The career of several other literary giants of the day demands a careful comparison with that of our poet. Ben Jonson confesses himself that he could rarely take advantage of a systematic schooling and had to engage himself in the trade of brick-laying—the profession of his step-father. Sir Walter Raleigh, the famous adventurer and historian, entered the University of Oxford only to leave it very soon without undergoing any training, but attained a rare scholarship. It would thus be very risky to accept the hyperbolic statements of Shakespeare's contemporaries and the succeeding generations who would call him in such terms as *unlettered, unschooled* and so forth.

The general inclination of the age was to the side of learning—and that was the immediate effect of the Renaissance. Schools there were many but not in such sufficient numbers as to admit all the boys of school-going age. Those who had the privilege of being born with silver spoons in their mouth could easily avail themselves of the opportunity of university training but the general mass of students could ill afford an education above the free-school standard. Only a lucky few of humble parentage—through the bounty of a noble man or simply as sizars or as exhibition holders—could avail themselves of a university education. By private efforts these poor boys could acquire sufficient education and the general literary atmosphere of the land was on the whole encouraging. We must not forget, however, that "a great man's education or mental training is not a process that stops with his school or college days; it is in progress throughout his life. But youthful education usually suggests the lines along which future intellectual development may proceed."[1] Nobody will ever deny this and it will, therefore, be necessary to look at the state of learning existing in the 16th century England and at its actual extent. It has been observed in the previous issue that the son of an illiterate mayor who could only mark his consent or otherwise on the corporation records by *notches* must be assumed to take a course of training in the free grammar school of the city. Shakespeare's learning took no university mould and the little bit he had, must have been picked up from the village pedagogues. It is all the more important, then, that we should ransack the records of the Grammar School in search of evidences which could prove conclusively that the future poet,

> "The whining schoolboy, with his satchel,
> And shining morning face, creeping like snail
> Unwillingly to school"

availed himself of the opportunity offered by the Grammar School.

Unfortunately there remains no such record. We know that Kyd and Spenser were students at the Merchant Taylor's School, we know something about Ben Jonson's schooling, we know fairly well about the academic career of the university wits, but we can gather nothing about the learning of Shakespeare. At the very outset, therefore, we

[1] Sir Sidney Lee, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 292.

have to decide the starting point, and this we do by assuming that he was sent to the free grammar school, even in the absence of positive records to that effect. We have now to decide the course of training which Shakespeare could get there. Here also the records of the Stratford school prove of no use and T. Spencer Baynes[1] tries to draw up at some length the list of books which the poet might have come across in his classes. The average curriculum of an Elizabethan grammar school has been found out and we have absolutely no reason to think that the Stratford school had followed a curriculum much different from that presented by Baynes. During the second half of the sixteenth century Latin formed practically the medium of instruction or at least a major language although Greek was no compulsory item in county schools. Youngsters were admitted into the school at an age usually between 6 and 8, and finished their school careers at about 13 or 14.

And during the intervening period of six or seven long years the pupil had to pass through the warehouse of Latin. Baynes presents us the following curricula which might prove interesting, "As a rule the pupil entered the grammar school at seven years old, having already acquired either at home or at the petty school the rudiments of reading and writing. During the first year the pupils were occupied with the elements of Latin grammar, the accidence, and lists of common words which were committed to memory and repeated two or three times a week, as well as further impressed upon their minds by varied exercises. In the second year the grammar was fully mastered and the boys were drilled in short phrase-books, such as the *Sententiae Pueriles*, to increase the familiarity with structure and idioms of the language. In the third year the books used were Æsop's Fables, Cato's Maxims and some good manual of school conversation, such as *Confabulations Pueriles*." The other half of the grammar school instruction covered a study of Mantuanas, Ovid, Cicero and others in the fourth year and the final pair of years would keep the boy busy with Virgil, Horace, Terence, Plautus and the available literature as far as could be procured.

It thus appears quite clear that if we accept the idea that Shakespeare took a full-course training in the existing free grammar school of the city, we have surely to admit that he acquired, if he did not play

[1] Baynes, Article on Shakespeare in *Encyclopaedia Britanica*, 9th edition, p. 751.

the truant, enough of Latin, which was so common in those days that even the youngsters would use it in their correspondence. It is recorded of the famous Sir Philip Sydney that he used to write Latin letters when he was only eleven. Richard Quiney, a friend of our poet, used to receive Latin letters from his nearest relatives.[1]

The reader would now consult the individual plays of the poet to see how far he indulges in original quotations. Let us consider a few amongst many. In a conversation with Sir Nathaniel, Holofernes speaks of Don Adriano de Armado in such terms as "Novi hominem tanquam te" (I know the man as well as you). The phrase is taken from Lyly's Grammar which had been the most popular text book for beginners of the classical tongues.

Again on another occasion Holofernes quotes, "Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur," which means that "wise is the man who speaketh few things or words." This also has been adopted from Lyly's Grammar. Holofernes is a schoolmaster and it is quite in keeping with his position and prestige that he quotes and even misquotes the ancient tongues before his audience. When he utters, "Facile precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat"[2] from the first eclogue of Mantuan, he evidently misquotes 'Facile' for 'Fauste'. In the same breath the schoolmaster exclaims:

"Venetia, Venetia,
Chi non ti vede, non ti pretia"

—Venice, Venice, who seeth thee not, praiseth thee not. This is a quotation from Florio's *First Fruites* published in 1578.

There have been many such quotations in this book and we take up another piece quite arbitrarily, say, *The Taming of the Shrew*. In answer to Bianca's query "Where left we last?", Lucentio, her lover, answers, "Here, madam," and continues in Ovid's language

"Hic ibat Simois, hic est Sigeia tellus,
Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis"

and goes on explaining this in the lines that follow. The passage runs in English thus:

"Here ran the river Simois; here is the Sigeian land; here stood the lofty palace of old Priam."

[1] Malone reproduces several Latin letters addressed to Richard Quiney by his brother-in-law, as also by his son (*vide* "Plays and Poems of Shakespeare," Appendix, Vol. 2, Variorum Edition, pp. 561-64).

[2] I pray thee, Faustus, while all our cattle ruminate in the cool shade.

Let us pick out another of the poet's work, say, *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*

Mistress Page shows her natural motherly anxiety to know how far her child had learnt and requests Sir Hugh Evans to examine her boy in her presence. In accordance with her request the parson examines the pupil in Latin accidence and corrects the boy's "singulariter, nominativo, hic, hæc, hoc" into "nominativo, hig, hag, hog" and so forth.

This scene will undoubtedly lose all its importance if anybody fails to think over its real significance. It appears that these few lines Shakespeare penned in order to ridicule the existing system of book-education, and we have no reason to deny the assertion that the poet himself underwent this method of education.

In another of his earlier plays, *Titus Andronicus,* a reader would discover many quotations from the ancients, that is, Latin and Greek In fact, there are actually too many classical references in this play and in consequence thereof several critics have doubted the authenticity of Shakespearean authorship of this and have boldly ascribed the same to the pen of the University wits.[1]

In Act IV, Sc. 2. Demetrius says, "Integer vitœ, scelerisque purus, Non eget Mauri jaculis, nec arcu." Whereupon his brother Chiron answers, "O, 'tis a verse in Horace; I know it well: I read it in the grammar long ago."

"Per Styga, per manes, vehor—"
"Magni dominator poli,
Tam lentus audis scelera? tam lentus vides?"
"Sit fas, aut nefas"

and many such scraps of Latin are to be met with in this play.

Besides Horace, Ovid's *Metamorphosis* and Tully's *Orator* have been directly referred to in this piece of Shakespearean tragedy.

When Titus asks the boy Lucius, "What book is that she tosseth so?" The boy answers, "Grand sire, 'tis Ovid's Metamorphosis My mother gav't me."

We have already quoted Shakespeare's motto in *Venus and Adonis* in the previous issue.[2]

[1] The fringe of the subject has been treated in a previous article (*vide Calcutta Review*, May, 1940). The subject would form an elaborate study in a subsequent issue of the journal.

[2] "Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavous Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret Aqua."

Marlowe, who died on 1st June, 1593, translated the couplet as

"Let base conceited wits admire vile things ;
Fair Phœbus lead me to the Muses' springs."

In 1602, Ben Jonson corrected and modified this translation and placed the following words on the lips of Ovid, a character in his *Poetester*:

"Kneele hindes to trash: me let bright Phoebus swell,
With cups full flowing from the Muses well."

Whatever be the actual meaning and in whatever light our poet might have used this couplet, it was indeed used in a sense of invocation to the goddess Apollo. We have to consider two different possibilities here both leading to the one and the same conclusion, that Shakespeare quite followed Ovid's original lines in his own way. The first possibility is that Shakespeare was not aware of Marlowe's translation, for, in that case, he could quote Marlowe directly as he had done with respect to the lines:

"Dead Shephard, now I find thy saw of might:"
"*Whoever loved that loved not at first sight ?*"

Or in the alternative Shakespeare might not have preferred the lines of Marlowe and had for himself a third rendering of the verse which he cared not to present us with. Ben Jonson's lines were given much later and necessarily come not in our purview.

There is no good in collecting many more original quotations. It is evident, however, that Shakespeare quoted from the original as also from the current translations. In support of this we can adduce the following instances. In *King Lear*, played before the King during the Christmas of 1606, we have:

"These late eclipses in the sun and moon portend no good to us: though the wisdom of Nature can reason it thus, and thus, yet Nature finds itself scourg'd by the sequent effects. Love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide. In cities, mutinies; in countries, discord; in palaces, treason; and the bond crack'd, 'twixt son and father. This villain of mine comes under the prediction ; there's son against father; the King falls from bias of Nature, there's father against child. We have seen the best of our time. Machinations, hollowness, treachery, and all ruinous disorders follow us disquietly to our graves."

A pre-dated publication, which is but an English translation of a Dutch pamphlet under the caption *Strange, fearful and true news which happened at Carlstadt in the kingdom of Croatia*, contains the following lines:

"The Earth's and Moon's late and horrible obscurations, the frequent eclipsations of the fixed bodies; by the wandering, the fixed stars, I mean the planets, within these few years more than ordinary, shall without doubt (salved divine inhibition) have their effects no less admirable, than the positions unusual. Which Peucer with many more too long to rehearse out of continual observation and the consent of all authors noted to be, new leagues, traitorous designments, catching at kingdoms, translation of empire, downfall of men in authority, emulations, ambition, innovations, factious sects, schisms and much disturbance and troubles in religion and matters of the Church, with many other things infallible in sequent such orbical positions and phenomenes."

Again, in *The Tempest* Prospero addresses his attendant spirits in the following line:

" Ye elves of hills, of standing lakes, and groves "

which according to Bishop Warburton were taken from Ovid:

" Auræque, et venti, montesque, amnesque, lacusque,
Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adeste."

It has been found out that Ovid's lines had been translated by Arthur Golding (1567) into

" Ye ayres and winds ; ye elves of hills, of brookes, of woods alone,
Of standing lakes, and of the night approche ye everych one."

A comparison of Shakespeare and Golding's lines would evidently prove the fact that our poet not only read Golding but assimilated and followed him closely.

In *Henry VIII* Queen Catherine says of Wolsey:

" . . . . . He was a man
Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking
Himself with princes ; one that by suggestion
Ty'd all the kingdom. Simony was fair play.
His own opinion was his law: i' th' presence
He would say untruths, and be ever double

Both in his words and meaning. He was never,
But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
His promises were, as he then was, mighty ;
But his performance, as he now is, nothing.
Of his own body he was ill, and gave
The clergy ill example."

The source of this passage has indeed been traced out: it is Holinshed whose lines have very faithfully been reproduced by our poet. A comparison would convince:

"This cardinal was of a great stomach, for he compted himself equal with princes, and by craftie suggestion got into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pitifull, and stood affectionate in his own opinion: in open presence he would lie and seie untruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: he would promise much and performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, and gaue the clergie euil example."

It can be shown that our poet had most closely followed other noted translators too and so closely that at times quite curious errors had crept into his writings. To quote an example: In *Antony and Cleopatra* we have the following lines :

". . . . . unto her
He gave the 'stablishment of Egypt, made her
Of lower Syria, Cyprus, *Lydia*,
Absolute queen."

Evidently 'Lydia' had been the mis-spelt version of 'Lybia'. Sir Thomas North's rendering of Plutarch from the French translation of Amyot is the source of these lines and of the mistake too. Let the relevant lines be quoted here:

"First of all he did establish Cleopatra queene of Ægypt, of Cyprus, of *Lydia*, and the lower Syria."

Let us quote another instance of Shakespeare's blunder, the source of which can be traced out in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. In *Henry V* Shakespeare writes:

". . . . . Also king Lewis the tenth,
Who was sole heir to the usurper Capet,
Could not keep quiet in his conscience, "

Holinshed mis-recorded 'Lewis the tenth' in place of 'Lewis the ninth' in the lines :

"King Lewes also the tenth, otherwise called saint Lewes, being verie heir to the said usurper Hugh Capet, could never be satisfied in his conscience . . . . ."

Quite a big passage in *Coriolanus* may be compared with the corresponding passage of North's translation of Plutarch. There is no good in transcribing the full-length quotation with the relevant lines from the source here, but one would better take notice of the following specimen to be sure of the excellent coincidence between the two. Shakespeare's Volumnia says:

". . . . . For myself, son,
I purpose not to wait on fortune, till
These wars determine: if I can't persuade thee
Rather to show a noble grace to both parts,
Than seek the end of one; thou shalt no sooner
March to assault thy country, than to tread
(Trust to't, thou shalt not) on thy mother's womb,
That brought thee to this world."

The corresponding passage in North's translation occurs thus:

"For my selfe (my sonne) I am determined not to tarrie, till fortune in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I can not persuade thee, rather to doe good unto both parties, than to ouerthrowe and destroye the one, preferring loue and nature before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou shalt see, my sonne, and trust unto it, thou shalt no sooner marche forward to assault thy countrie, but thy foote shall tread upon thy mother's wombe, that brought thee first into this world."

Let us cease here further quotations and comparisons and let us hope confidently that the above instances will unmistakably demonstrate that our poet freely used translations of standard authors of the classics and hesitated not in borrowing *verbatim* from these acknowledged renderings. From a critical study of Shakespeare's plays and poems in the light given above Dr. Farmer drew up his very learned essay on the learning of Shakespeare wherein he had expressed his opinions that the bard of Avon had quite been innocent of the Humanities and depended *entirely* on translations both for plot and language where this type of dependence was thought advisable by the poet. Dr. Farmer may be regarded as the pioneer

in this field of Shakespearean research and his criticism demands very close attention. On the positive side of the problem the conclusions drawn by the critic—namely that Shakespeare quite freely used the English renderings of Greek and Latin authors—are quite compatible with the facts, and nobody can ever deny them. But the other side of the problem, the present writer believes, has undoubtedly been over-influenced by the above conclusions. Yes, Shakespeare read a good lot of translations ; true, he used them freely but why should we consider him unacquainted with the originals? One would depend on the paucity of records regarding Shakespeare's schooling but mere absence of records can by no means be regarded convincing argument in favour of his natural wit. This type of *argumentum ex silencio* is extremely risky to prove a thesis.

In fact, a close study of Dr. Farmer's thesis appears rather one-sided, and it seems that several other possibilities have quite been ignored. It may be that Dr. Farmer started with a pre concieved notion of Shakespeare's deficiency in the classics and had all along endeavoured hard to justify this notion. In recent years Prof. J. Churton Collins has considered the question in detail and one has to follow his arguments carefully to get a clear understanding of the problem. In the next article the subject will be treated further.

(To be continued)

INDIAN LEADERSHIP & THE AWAKENING OF THE MASSES

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THERE cannot be the slightest doubt that, for generations, millions in India have been insufficiently fed during normal times, that during times of scarcity they live on a handful or so of leaves eked out with roots, etc., gathered from the wayside, and that during famines large numbers die of sheer starvation. It is not denied that steps are taken to succour them during famines but these, we know, are not of such an extensive character as to provide substantial relief to the stricken population. Epidemic diseases take easy toll of half-starved men, women and children who are carried away in thousands. Failure of crops may be due to drought or floods, earthquakes and other natural calamities but, whatever the cause, we do not as yet have adequate means to fight it. There was a time when *Karma* in the case of the Hindu and *Kismet* in the case of the Mussalman, in other words the inexorable working of fate, was regarded as an adequate explanation of their miserable and joyless life. This, of course, did not remove their state of semi-starvation but as they were not acquainted with any remedy for their miseries, the people had perforce to console themselves with the explanation which suggested itself most readily to them and the adequacy of which they and their forefathers had never challenged.

But the knowledge of democratic institutions in the West which has spread in this country since the establishment of the British rule along with certain other factors have gradually and insensibly forced them out of this uncomplaining acceptance of poverty and misery. Probably the first in point of time if not in point of importance is the railway system which now traverses almost every part of India. Any one who has travelled in the third class and seen the various types of men and women using it must have noticed what jostling of castes and creeds is to be found in the trains and how

rapidly this is breaking down the barriers of the caste system and encouraging an All-India outlook. Men and women of every faith, nationality, province and State travel together in their millions. There are expressions of a vague desire for the attainment of a fuller and a richer life, criticisms of public men and the services they are rendering the motherland and lastly discussions about the activities of the different All-India organisations for the attainment of political freedom in which the Congress figures very prominently. The constant interchange of ideas has brought about a revolutionary change in the outlook of the masses.

Even while holding a ticket for a higher class I have, specially in the day, travelled hundreds of miles in different parts of India in the third class for hours at a time and not only amused myself but have also gathered at first hand some idea of the way in which the masses look at our problems by listening to the talk which goes on constantly among the passengers at all hours of the day and night. Conversation bearing on politics generally starts with the purchase of a newspaper in one or other of the Indian vernaculars in some large way-side station. After the purchaser has had his glance, it is passed from hand to hand and columns are always eagerly scanned in order to find out what Mahatma Gandhi or prominent leaders like Jawaharlal, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhai Patel, Subhas Bose or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad have said. The doings of Mr. Jinnah and Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, of Savarkar and of Moonje are noted and the steps taken by the provincial Governments discussed sometimes with very great heat. About a year or so ago, I read somewhere that approximately seven hundred and fifty million third class tickets are sold by the Indian railways every year. If this figure is correct, it gives us some idea of the immense opportunities for interchange of ideas afforded by the railway systems of India.

The motor-bus, often a very uncomfortable vehicle as I know to my cost, which has made its appearance within recent years, is opening up many areas which had remained untouched by India's railway system. In every part of India except perhaps East Bengal cut up by numerous rivers, streams and water courses, it is to-day running on roads, *kutcha* and *pucca*, and carrying the new ferment into the peasant life of India. The passengers are carried at unbelievably low rates from villages to sub-divisional and district towns and also from village to village. The fact that the villager is no longer

compelled to go to a railway station in order to reach his destination but can often board his bus at his very door is tending to make the motor-bus a formidable rival of the railway. I know of certain parts of the Punjab, the U.P., Bihar, West Bengal and Madras where one can tour by bus through practically every part of the country. Here too we find the same jostling of castes, creeds and sects, the same discussion of current rural problems, the same criticisms, often very crude, of public men and public activities naturally with the result of creating a less narrow outlook in the villages.

Travelling by bus in various parts of India has shown me that nearly every literate person provides himself with a newspaper generally in the vernacular and not often with one or other of the monthly magazines in the vernacular. These must be read in the rural areas where reading matter is not easily available and their contents discussed threadbare.

Another factor which is tending to shake the people out of their old ways is the cinema with its latest development, the talkie. In these places of amusement, in addition to Western films, we are getting Indian films a majority of which cannot be said to be artistic. The Western films of the wild west type have an appeal for the very young. Western films having a definite sex appeal which are condemned by Indian sentiment are tending to destroy the prestige of the foreigner. It is unfortunate that Indian producers are taking to the imitation of this type of films though still in a half-hearted way. Some Indian films I have seen are concerned with the doings of historical personages and are definitely popular, celebrating as they do, the heroic achievements of our old national leaders. Another result of the popularity of the cinema has been the stimulus it has given to a cheap form of romantic love—a matter rarely known and still less recognised in old-fashioned, orthodox India. But a change has come and we now hear reports of suicide pacts between lovers who are prevented from marrying either on religious or economic grounds. It is a well-known fact that cinemas are now in operation not only in very small towns but also in some of the larger villages and that they visit fairs, large and small, everywhere. The villager, specially the village youth, very often stints himself in other directions in order that he might go to the cinema. News of the larger world, naturally in a far from accurate form, filters through these visitors to the remotest of villages

and is disturbing the old ways and habits of thought. I was greatly pleased to know from one of my friends living in Bombay that the Congress Government when it was in power had given great encouragement to the production of rural reconstruction films and also that these are being greatly appreciated everywhere.

Broadcasting is in its infancy in India and is heavily handicapped in many different ways. We have not as yet cheap and reliable sets suitable for installation in villages where electricity is not available and is not likely to be available for many years to come. It is true that Government is installing loud-speakers in some areas. My experience in my own province is that, probably on account of lack of funds as well as of other facilities, broadcasting on a large scale has hitherto been used mainly for the purpose of conducting Government propaganda. I doubt whether in the different provinces any responsible person has seriously considered the enormous possibilities of broadcasting as a medium of instruction and disseminator of non-propaganda mass ideas and, if so, whether any attempt on a really All-India scale has been made for utilising it for such purposes. My own observations, necessarily limited as regards provinces of India other than Bengal, has been that it is being used more largely for amusement than for the useful purposes referred to above but let me, at the same time, confess that the explanation for this may be that experience has proved to directors of radio programmes that education through the wireless is assimilated only when very largely diluted with amusement.

There cannot be any doubt that broadcasting will be developod in India by the British administration if only to counter the National Movement when it grows too insistent in its demands, for it offers the best possible way of its getting into direct contact with the masses, a majority of whom are unable to read. No reasonable man can have any objection if Government utilises the wireless in order to meet the activities of unscrupulous agitators who aim at fomenting discontent among the ignorant and superstitious villagers by deliberately circulating false information. If, on the other hand, it is utilised for pure propaganda work, there is always the risk that we may have mass drilling of the type with which we have grown familier in Italy, Germany and Russia. But will the Government of India have the courage to allow men like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Jinnah, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and Savarkar

to use the facilities available even when they are not in its favour in ways similar to those found in Britain when, for example, a general election is imminent or some nationally important issue is under discussion ? Only time can tell whether such a liberal policy will be followed in an India which has not as yet completly shaken off its economic and political subjection.

As one who tries, as far as lies in his power, to be fair to all, I must acknowledge that our great vernacular journals which sell in their thousands do not ordinarily show much hesitation in bitterly criticising Government measures and also that they are occasionally punished for the too-free expression of their opinions. At the same time no one, I think, will deny that, on the whole, the presentation of news is characterised by both accuracy and fairness in the sense that no attempt is made to suppress items which go against or are unfavourable to the declared policy of any particular newspaper though it is quite likely that the inferences drawn from them are clouded by the opinions of the owners. Published from the larger towns, those in charge of periodicals of this type enjoy all facilities open to English papers of standing and always avail themselves of them. For instance, I know of vernacular dailies published in Calcutta priced half an anna and of some published in Bombay priced at a quarter of an anna which give accurate news and comments on current affairs which are quite naturally tinctured by the political views of the proprietors. These enjoy circulation ranging from 20 to 65 thousand daily, go to every part of the province in which they are published and play an important part in forming the public opinion of those who do not read English.

The really dangerous element in vernacular journalism is to be found in those hundreds of " rags " published from country towns and edited generally by one man who, lacking political vision, generally fans communal passions or inflames hatred against those in power. Such a man utilises information received second-hand, rumours which he does not fail to embellish with invention and sometimes even goes so far as to fabricate news and serve it up for the delectation of his ignorant readers. The fantastic lies and garbled reports spread through such agencies among the readers and those who listen to them have the effect of rousing discontent and of spreading communal misunderstandings. The evil has grown to such proportions that both Congress and non-Congress ministers had to take drastic steps to

curtail their mischievous activities. I am not concerned here with suggesting remedies for this undesirable state of affairs. I am referring to it only to prove that this is still another factor responsible for awakening mass consciousness.

The appearance of the sewing machine and of the hurricane lantern, of enamelled cups, saucers and p'ates, of non-Indian cotton fabrics, of Japanese toys and Chinese torches is slowly transforming village life. They are tending to divert from our rural areas much of the wealth which formerly used to go to the village craftsman. This is impoverishing our villages and compelling larger numbers to look to the already over-burdened land for their support. Gandhiji would meet this situation by asking India to go back to simplicity in life.

According to the last census, that for 1931, out of a total population in India amounting approximately to 352 million, about 154 million were earners of whom about 15 million or roughly 10 per cent were earning their living by following various kinds of industry. In this connection we have to remember that an overwhelming majority of those engaged in industry were village handicraftsmen for, according to the Statistical Abstract for 1935, there were in that year in India about 900 factories employing the services of a little more than 1½ million persons. Two conclusions follow from these figures and they are that India is very backward in industries or else why should such a small percentage of her children earn their bread in industry specially when we are importing such large amounts of manufactured goods. The second conclusion is that as out of those engaged in industries in India such a huge majority is engaged in handicrafts, our energies ought to be directed to the development of cottage industries seeing that they seem to meet our requirements. These things, however, do not concern us just now.

Every one familiar with industrial conditions under the factory system is aware that our labour is generally of the unskilled variety, that it is drawn from the rural areas and that it is of an extremely floating character. What I mean by the word "floating" is that labourers come to industrial centres, work for some part of the year and return to their village homes after they have earned a sufficient amount. They never sever their connection with rural life permanently but always return to their village homes from time to time. For all practical purposes, labour drawn from the countryside is rural in its outlook.

The 1931 census also tells us that about 10 million people in India earn their living as domestic servants, out of these about 4 to 5 million come to towns to work as servants in the households of educated and comparatively prosperous men. But these too, like industrial labour return to their village homes frequently.

Under these circumstances, there is nothing in the world which can prevent the filtration of urban ideas into the countryside. These men who go back in their millions to their villages scattered through every part of India carry along with them the message of the desirability of adopting a higher standard of living and they must also tell stories of many incidents which, to their knowledge, have demonstrated that once the poor man has learnt to demad his just dues and to show sufficient determination, he is bound to succeed in his attempt to secure higher wages and better treatment from his master.

Added to the above is the profound disturbance created in India by the success which has crowned the efforts of Christian propaganda specially among the outcastes. It is a mistake to suppose that these outcastes are to be found among the Hindus alone though, at the same time, it has to be admitted that by far the largest number are to be found among them. It is now generally admitted that the convert to Christianity has an all-round improvement including directions other than the spiritual and also that his children almost invariably and without much difficulty take immense strides in improving their social and economic status. That the gravity of the situation has been recognised by non-Christians is evident from the various organisations for religious propaganda fostered by all the larger religious groups. It has to be said to the credit of intellectual India that it had all along condemned untouchability but nothing effective to banish it had been accomplished till Mahatma Gandhi took the lead in the matter. The Rt. Rev. V. S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, observed recently "The conscience of Hindu India has been awakened, caste's main citadels have been shaken. It is now only a matter of time before they crumble to the dust."

The thing which really interests me here is that the sight of the former Harijan who has shaken off all his old social disabilities merely by the fact of a change in his faith is acting as a kind of catalytic in India's social, economic and political life. The convert who has lifted himself out of the morass of economic servitude is an object lesson to every poverty-stricken man and the social equality granted

to him inside the Christian fold immediately brings to the fore the question of political equality in the matter not only of exercising the franchise but of enjoying the leaves and fishes which might be available for distribution.

These, in my view, are some of the causes responsible for the awakening of the masses. In my opinion, however, the last and most important among them is the consciousness of the newly acquired political power which was aroused when we were given provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, the number of voters being increased at one stroke from about seven to about thirty-six millions. This new and important privilege came to the masses immediately after the catastrophic fall in the prices of agricultural products which hit them very hard as the fall in the price of the manufactured goods they used was not correspondingly low. This suggested an easy method to politicians of securing their support. Some of the more unscrupulous or ignorant among them did not fail to hold out to them hopes of a new heaven and a new earth if only they were returned to the legislatures.

The peasant, long groaning under the tyranny of landlords and moneylenders, at last came to realise that the time had come when he could pay off old scores. Similar sentiments also filled the hearts of industrial labourers who thought that the masters could now be compelled to treat them with greater consideration. The so-called "untouchables" also welcomed the new-found opportunity of showing in an effective way their resentment for the treatment meted out to them by their social superiors in the past. The British administration was known to the masses through the tax-collector, the subordinate officers of the civil courts who had attached and sold their slender possessions in the past to meet their liabilities to the zemindar and the mahajan and the subordinate police officers who had always oppressed them. Naturally enough the British Raj under these circumstances was not an object of much love to the masses. When they found agitators coming among them and drawing their pointed attention to the various disabilities which they had been suffering from without making any kind of complaint, when educated and well-off politicians many of whom had rarely, if ever, thought of establishing contact with them came to solicit their votes, there appeared the stirrings of a new life in our villages and among their inhabitants. They realised that they had an importance all their own

in the scheme of life and they made up their mind, it must be admitted in a rather vague and uncertain manner, that they would use their newly-acquired power in ways calculated to serve their interests best.

There was one man whose name was a household word among India's masses, one man who had really shown his love for the cultivator, the mill-worker and even the untouchable and this he had done when no one could even dream that the time might come when the help and assistance of these poor and down-trodden people would be worth having.

The peasants had heard how in the district of Champaran in Bihar, the cultivators had been compelled for more than a century to grow indigo for the profit of planters and how Mahatma Gandhi had fought for them and won their freedom from this oppression. In the Kaira district, Gujrat, he had been equally successful in compelling Government to revise the excessive revenue assessment imposed unjustly on the peasants.

The Bardoli Satyagraha was due to difference of opinion over the re-assessment of the land-tax which took place in 1926. The tax was raised by 30 per cent and was reduced by 22 per cent after agitation but even this was regarded as excessive. After the failure of constitutional agitation, the Peasants' Conference decided that whatever the cost, the taxes would not be paid unless and until an impartial tribunal was appointed or the enhancement cancelled. Then followed inprisonments, confiscations and other kinds of oppression but to no effect. Last came an inquiry as the result of which there was a very substantial reduction in the assessment. This no-tax compaign had its repercussions in other provinces such as the Punjab and the Central Provinces, the most important result being the immense gain of a new-found dignity in the agriculturist.

So far as industrial labour is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi had carried on a successful campaign for the mill-workers of Ahmedabad. When the inhabitants of a large part of Bihar had been faced with economic ruin and actual starvation, it was the Mahatma who had organised relief work for them on a large scale. His love for the untouchables and the work he had done for them are equally well-known. Mahatma Gandhi had set his face against the exploitation of the masses and had fought against the British administration, the Indian landlord and the large-scale Indian employer of labour with equal vigour and with equal success and his one aim was that every

one including the poorest of the poor should have a square deal. It had also been noticed by them that, under his guidance and inspiration, their brethren hitherto resigned to their fate, had learnt the value of co-operation and of united action. They had lost their cringing stoop and had developed a straight spine and acquired a new sense of self-respect. Unity they had come to feel, was strength and now they, poor and humble though they were, could look all including the white and the brown official, the landlord and the money-lender, straight in the face.

There was a time when the Congress had touched into life the political consciousness of the rich, the educated and the powerful ; it had then summoned the middle classes to join its rank. Last of all came Mahatma Gandhi who had converted it into a mass movement for his call to the masses to join the Congress was responded to by lakhs of the people. The Congress was the chosen instrument through which Gandhiji was working for the benefit of the masses and it was therefore that in every province where the message of Mahatma Gandhi had gone and been appreciated, the Congress captured practically every seat it contested.

This is how the success of the Congress party in the last election is referred to in the " Round Table " for June 1937 (No. 107, p. 613). This periodical published from London can by no means be described as over-friendly towards the Congress and yet it says " The large majorities obtained by the Congress in the last election are generally traced to the sentimental regard felt for a movement that originated and fostered nationalist aims, to an elaborate party organisation, and to prevailing discontent with the existing order, which the Congress has adroitly dramatised for political purposes. But the party, as the Congress may be called, sponsored a realistic social and economic electoral programme. This included reforms in the land-tenure system, reductions in land rent and revenue and a more equitable adjustment of agricultural burdens, giving immediate relief to the peasants. The party promised to deal with the question of agricultural indebtedness, and to improve the lot of industrial workers. Untouchability and other social anachronisms were to be removed, and the treatment of ' political prisoners ' was to be examined and improved. This programme was wrapped up with a more general policy of seeking to end the constitution and substituting something nearer to Indian aspirations, but there is no doubt that the practical

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programme of the party made a strong appeal to the less sophisticated electors. The election results proved that the Congress had deep-rooted support in the country; for the new electorate brought to the poll nearly 28,000,000 voters who had never before exercised the franchise. It was clear that these electors were willing to give the Congress an opportunity to carry out its programme in the legislatures."

When the Congress ministries came into power in the provinces, it was realised that they were trying, within the limits imposed on them by the Government of India Act, 1935, to carry on the programme of Mahatma Gandhi to ameliorate the lot of the masses. All of them initiated agrarian, industrial and debt legislation, introduced prohibition mainly for their benefit, spent larger amounts than before for encouraging primary education, improving sanitation and public health facilities and took steps for the abolition of adult illiteracy. It is apprehended that if the Congress is permanently kept out of power to which it is entitled by reason of its hold on the voters, now increased a hundred-fold by their recent abdication of it on a question of principle, the tempo of the progressive programme may be reduced. Any reduction in the pace of ameliorative measures cannot possibly be relished by the masses who, through their representatives in the different legislatures, may make the task of administration very difficult if not impossible. On the other hand, if circumstances compel the British administration to suspend the working of provincial autonomy for any very considerable period, the world at large may be forced to come to the conclusion that the criticism offered against the Government of India Act, 1935, has been justified.

There is still another more undesirable contingency which will have to be faced if the extreme Leftists take advantage of the situation which might be expected to ensue and if they develop among the masses the conviction that only extremist action will enable them to gain their ends. This might lead to their acceptance of communistic principles which would be a very great tragedy unrelieved by the slightest touch of any redeeming feature.

Fortunately for India, the last election of the Congress President has proved conclusively the hold Gandhiji's personality, philosophy and programme have on the country at large. We all know that this year M. N. Roy stood as a candidate for the Presidentship on behalf of the Left with the slogan of alternative leadership and a challenge to Gandhism. He secured only 133 votes in the whole of

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India as against 1,854 votes polled by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The Congress Socialists, the Forward Blockists and the Communists gave their support to his Gandhian rival. Last year, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected agaist the nominee of the majority of the then Working Committee. His election as President was regarded as a defeat of the Rightists. And yet immediately after his election, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose told the world that there would be no replacement of the Gandhian leadership nor any sudden or violent break with the old programme.

This compels every thinking man to hold that the Leftists have not as yet succeded in producing any great leader in whom India as a whole has confidence and whom Indians would follow unquestioningly. It also proves that however loud and vociferous the Leftist condemnation of the Mahatma's desire for an honourable compromise with Britain, the Leftists cannot expect to carry the country with them in any Civil Disobedience Movement on anything like a mass scale. They are aware that the country would feel relieved if a compromise with Britain could be effected on an honourable basis and it looks to Mahatmaji and no one elso to bring this about. It, therefore, seems that, just at present, there is not much chance of the Congress organisation coming under the control of the Leftists.

Since progressive measures for improving the lot of the masses must be given effect to and since also there appears at present only one organisation capable of carrying out this programme in a systematic, non-revolutionary and non-communistic way, there is no avoiding the conclusion that every reasonable facility should be given to the Congress to implement its programme under reasonable conditions. It seems to me, therefore, inevitable that if there is any desire to permanently guard against the risks of a communistic revolution, the Congress must be allowed to come once again into power and that if it refuses to shoulder the responsiblities of administration unless the present Government of India Act, 1935, is liberalised to some extent, its demand to this end will have to be complied with in the spirit of co-operation. And this, there is little doubt, will ultimately be to the benefit of both Britain and India.

In the course of the long tours I have undertaken throughout India in my capacity as President of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, now living as the guest of the rich, now of the upper and now of the lower middle class and occasionally staying even with the

actual tiller of the soil or the mill operative, what has come to me repeatedly as a shock is the sight of millions of our brothers and sisters, whose eyes are sunken, whose bodies are emaciated and whose hopeless looks show that they regard themselves as beyond all hope of redemption. During my last tour in Andhra and Utkal, I have seen young girls who look like old and emaciated hags simply because they have never experienced the full satisfaction of their hunger.

The late Sir Frederick Treves, Surgeon to the late King-Emperor Edward VII, the grandfather of our present King-Emperor, visited India in the early years of the century. He published his book "The Other Side of the Lantern" in 1905 and spoke of what he had seen in India in the following terms:—"Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary-looking . . . they all seem poor and 'toiling for leave to live.' They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp. Whither they go, Heaven knows, for they look like men who have been wandering for a century." And these our brothers and sisters are wandering in search of food and clothing and finding none; they are wandering in search of work and finding one; they are wandering in search of medical aid and finding none. And their wandering will cease only when we, who are more fortunately placed, supply what they so sorely need. All this has to be changed before the Indian nation can attain manhood. The masses are awake and they have to be led. It is absolutely necessary that the future leadership should be Indian. Our Gandhiji must have lieutenants. The Congress Ministers have resigned but they are still carrying on the good work. They need unselfish workers and every one who offers his co-operation helps forward the cause of the motherland. The political programme of the Congress may not be subscribed to by every one of us but no Indian who regards himself as a lover of his motherland can refuse his co-operation to the economic programme of the Congress.

HISTORY OF THE BENGALI NOVEL

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I

THE novel in Bengali literature had no doubt its origin in Western influences. Familiarity with English novels and the pictures of society depicted therein suggested the idea, and stimulated the first efforts of the Bengali novelist But to admit this undeniable fact is by no means to ignore an equally patent fact that germs of the future novel are discoverable in medieval Bengali literature. Realistic bias is not certainly a strong point in early Bengali literature: its excessive preoccupation with religious and metaphysical interests, its habitual use of hyperboles in poetry and marked tendency to dress up history in a poetic garb are all factors that tend to smother and weaken realism. But, inspite of all efforts at suppression or concealment, the realistic faculty is at work in our Kavyas and Puranas, in the Buddha Jatakas, in our medieval poetry represented by Krittibasa, Kasidas and Mukundaram, and in our folk-lore and rural songs and tales. Materials for a reconstruction of our social history can be gleaned from these sources; vivid, though transient, glimpses into the life and personalities of these remote epochs afford evidence that the spirit of realistic observation and portraiture is no more absent here than in the literatures of other countries. A novel is nothing but story-telling with a well-defined purpose, with a view to bringing home the mystery and dignity of life and the complexity of the intertwining forces that shape it. This purpose takes some time to attain definition and self-consciousness: the form most appropriate to the purpose is a comparatively recent growth. But story-telling being an eternal and immemorial passion of the human heart, it is no matter for surprise if germs of the future novel are to be discovered floating about in greater or less profusion in the atmosphere of our medieval literature, waiting for coherence and compactness of form under the influence of Western models.

It was, however, in a society shaken out of its age-long slumber by impact with Western ideas, profoundly disturbed and agitated by

its new experiences, that the novel found its first inspiration and field of work. The first Bengali novelists found themselves inevitably drawn to the ferment and confusion in the social sphere that resulted from the infiltration of English influences. Indeed, Bengali society at the beginning of the nineteenth century presented an unwonted picture of liveliness and animation that provided a picturesque contrast to centuries of stagnation and placid acquiescence. The novelist approached this scene partly with a serious desire of adjustment and reconciliation, but mainly with a predominantly satirical bias. As in the early stages of the evolution of the English novel, Fielding was drawn to the field mainly through an impulse to parody and satire and remained to pray where he had come to scoff, so the Bengali novelists like Peary Chand Mitra and Kali Prasanna Sinha followed similar lines of inspiration. Conflict and resistance had sharpened the usually shapeless contours of Bengali society ; new forces were at work breaking through the old boundaries and impelling to new forms of activity. A new ideology or philosophy of life was shaping itself, justifying undreamed-of excesses of thought and conduct, provoking extreme reactions and setting up a new standard of values. The first novelists, with their powers of realistic observation sharpened afresh, eagerly fastened upon this shifting and colourful panorama of life. " নব-বাবু-বিলাস " (1823), " হুতোম প্যাঁচার নক্সা " (1862) and " আলালের ঘরের দুলাল " (1857) are the first fruits of the new spirit that finds itself so suddenly born, as if in swift, spontaneous response to the environment. Predominantly satirical in their intention, they revel in the pictures of excess and discord presented by an Anglicised Bengal, the sharp heresies and schisms that rent its traditional uniformities. Some of the liveliest pictures of contemporary life can be gleaned from their pages, which provide materials of inestimable value to the social historian. Essential fidelity to truth is heightened and rendered more piquant by the slight, yet perfectly artistic, tendency to exaggeration, which is fostered by the satiric spirit with its eye for telling strokes and dramatic contrasts. And along with this satiric impulse, there is a more serious desire of doing justice to and properly evaluating the elements of the new culture and of working out a synthesis between the new and the old. This seriousness leads to no inconsiderable amount of dull sermonising which makes of these early novels such tedious reading: but it enhances their historical value. They are compounded of strength and weakness: raciness of description, and

powers of realistic observation and portrayal going hand in hand with a somewhat superficial characterisation, a mainly external sense of conflict, a conception of life unduly dominated by morality and a disjointed weakness in respect of plot-construction. But inspite of these defects, " হুতোম প্যাঁচার নক্সা " and " আলালের ঘরের দুলাল " compare not unfavourably with the first ventures of other literatures and they usher in, not unworthily, the long career of the novel in Bengali literature.

II

From these pioneer works to Bankim Chandra, the first mature artist in the field of fiction, is a far cry, but there are very few works to bridge the big gulf. In fact, the lessons taught by the first band of realistic novelists were not properly learned and were almost allowed to be forgotten. The intervening period is mostly filled by experiments in the direction of the pseudo-historical novel, in which the native bias towards wandering, irresponsible fantasy found free scope unchecked by any solicitude for historical truth. These novels have hardly any literary value and evince very little of that truthful spirit, that sense of responsibility, which can be expected from a historical novel. They mainly turn upon the wildest improbabilities, the most exaggerated and incredible kinds of adventures, even frankly supernatural and miraculous happenings introduced in utter disregard of psychology: and familiar names of history and geography only appear as curious and strangely ineffectual anomalies in an atmosphere of grotesque confusion and besetting unreality. Hardly one of these fantastic, amorphous growths has survived: they merely litter the pages of the catalogue of the Bengal Library as a melancholy evidence of misdirected literary energy. Not even the greatest genius could make a success of the historical novel in Bengal: the handicap was too great, the ignorance too colossal, for such an undertaking. The intimate knowledge of past epochs, the deep understanding of the prevailing ideals and currents of thought, a dramatic and picturesque presentation of the main issues of conflict, a clear grasp of the subtle interaction between public movements and private lives—indispensable equipments for a historical novelist—are inevitably lacking in a student of Indian history, even if he possessed the supreme gift of imaginative reconstruction, of infusing life and colour into the dry bones of History. Even the great Bankim fainted under the burden, and there is little

reason for surprise that his less gifted precursors should have failed miserably in the attempt.

III

With Bankim Chandra at one stride Bengali novel reaches the fulness of its stature. The tentative efforts at the social novel and lifeless, abortive experiments at the historical are suddenly elevated into the dignity and purposefulness of high art. The great service of Bankim Chandra lies in his imparting to the story of our life with its puny conflicts and narrow implications an emotional intensity and psychological penetration that at once lift it to the level of art. This represents, in a nutshell, his supreme contribution to the Bengali novel. The reflections, the sketch of the inner conflict, the motivation, the interaction between character and circumstances are all managed with supreme skill and have a surprising note of modernity about them—surprising all the more when we look at the comparative development of the English novel in his day. The influence of the Western novel upon Bankim Chandra is a popularly accepted thesis, but to my mind the story of this influence has been grossly exaggerated. There is nothing to show that Bankim was acquainted with Jane Austen, Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot who were among the most distinguished of his English precursors and contemporaries: his art is entirely original and owes little to any of these great masters. Scott was the only great English novelist with whom Bankim's familiarity can be categorically asserted. An adaptation from a novel of Lord Lytton's also forms the acknowledged basis of one of his novels. But in respect of art and general subtlety of treatment, Bankim is as unquestionably superior to both of them, as he is inferior to the one in grasp of history and to the other in romantic sensationalism. It is important to remember this originality of Bankim, specially at a time when his indebtedness to the English novel is apt to be overstressed. What Bankim borrowed was merely the basic idea of the novel and its framework: as regards the method of filling in the framework, his conception of character and reflections on life, he relied solely upon his native genius.

Bankim began his career as a novelist with the Historical Novel and Romance. His *Durgesnandini* (1865), *Kapalkundala*, *Mrinalini*, *Chandrasekhar*, *Anandamath*, Rajsinha, Sitaram, etc., attempt, with varying degrees of success, to interweave the two strains of domestic

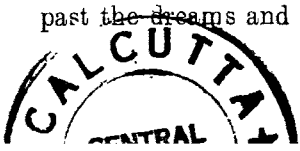
life and the enveloping historical *milieu*. *Durgesnandini*, his first novel, deals with the historical incidents of the conflict between Moghul and Pathan in the reign of Emperor Akbar: but his main interest is in the delineation of a love story conditioned by the martial atmosphere—a story in which the rainbow of love is painted against the background of the war-clouds. Character, as is inevitable in a historical novel, is made to conform to the type: the historical details are meagre and unconvincing: the racial characteristics of Moghul, Pathan and Rajput are undifferentiated and there are some lapses in point of credibility, especially in the relation between Birendra Sinha and Bimala and the somewhat pompous pretensions of Abhiram Swami whose prophetic mantle sits rather ill upon him. But all this is redeemed by a new delicacy in the presentation of character, specially the subtle differentiation between the two heroines and a capacity for sustained lyrical and melodramatic writing, as in the scene where Bimala takes her revenge. Everything points to the emergence of a writer of genius who does his best in turning his limitations to account and in making the flower of romance blossom through the chinks and fissures of history. In *Mrinalini* the history is weaker still, and the central love-story more unconvining: but there is amends in the conception of the enigmatical character of Manorama, and a splendid evidence of historical imagination in the narration of the sack of Gaur and of the discreditable court intrigues that led to such a catastrophe. A strong grasp of the conception of Tragic Destiny that suggests a Hardean parallelism is also in evidence in the discovery of the relations between Monorama and Pasupati and the self-immolation of the former.

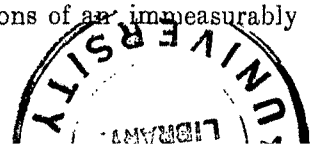
In *Chandrasekhar* (1875) history forms but a thin drapery for what is in its essence the romantic story of the expiation of a redeemed soul. But what little there is of it, relating as it does to the beginnings of the British rule in Bengal, is more convincing and more intimately realised. The lusty kick administered by Johnson and Galstaun to the closed doors of Pratap Roy is the most fitting revelation of the indomitable pride and self-confidence of the would-be conquerors of Bengal. Mir Kasem, caught up in the toils of a tragic misunderstanding, is a worthy sacrifice on the altar of the Goddess of Destiny and has the authentic royal manner about him. But the whirlwinds of history merely raise a dust in which the heroine of the novel, Saibalini, finds the chance to get herself besmirched. Saibalini is a

more subtle and complex specimen of femininity than any other heroine of Bankim Chandra, a woman in whom a rare charm and beauty of face and manner and a surprising resourcefulness and audacity of conduct weave themselves round a core of original sinfulness. Her sin is purified by an expiation that is almost Dantesque in its purgatorial visions and hallucinations. The lyrical endowments of Bankim find no better and more sustained expression than in the chapters describing the objectification of the heroine's inner remorse. And the lyricism has enough psychology in it to make it suitable to the ends of a novel. The story of an ordinary moral lapse and its atonement has thus been lifted to transcendent heights by a sublimity of conception and treatment which is more in its place in poetry than the novel.

Rajsinha (1882) is, according to its author, the one genuine historical novel written by him. It is doubtless the one with the greatest amount of historical authenticity and fulness of historical details. And in contradistinction to the other historical novels, history forms the main theme of the novel, its very stuff and substance rather than a mere background. The march and counter-march of armies, manoeuvers and plans of campaign, political intrigues and negotiations are worthily narrated and show a rather surprising command of military technique on the part of one unversed in warfare. But the burning brand that occasions such a mighty conflagration is kindled in the fire of love. Chanchal's defiance of Aurangzeb and courting of Rajsinha are both in the genuine Rajput tradition, and their rhetoric has the rythm of life itself. In the welter of history, character is not neglected. Aurangzeb is a triumph of character-delineation: Zeb-unnisa and Mabarak, though not reaching such heights, are nevertheless living creations, with sharply defined individualities. On the whole, history has been better managed, and with fewer lapses, than in any other work of Bankim.

In *Anandamath, Debi Choudhurani* (1884) and *Sitaram* (1887) history has been twisted and idealised in conformity with the central purpose of the author, which happens to be a deeply religious one. In the former an obscure Sannyasi incursion, not above the level of a petty plundering raid, has been heightened and glorified into a movement of national independence, marked by intense patriotism and rare spiritual fervour. Bankim obviously focusses on the canvas of the past the dreams and aspirations of an immeasurably more progressive





future. The whole novel is compacted of such idealistic dreams ; the personages who figure in it deny their frail human nature and move about wrapped in a thick fog of sublime but unpractical imaginings. We have very rare glimpses of earth and of common human nature, the earth's pull being felt only in a few inevitable lapses and backslidings and topplings down from transcendent heights. The history that is presented would hardly bear examination. The ideals that govern life are very much ahead of the age ; battles are won and lost with ridiculous ease: and history and geography are presented with blurred outlines, peering forth in jutting, disconnected points from a fog-shrouded landscape. The whole revolutionary movement impresses as a sudden exotic growth, with no roots in the soil: like a prophetic vision hastily clothed in ill-fitting contemporary costume. However, there are certain things in the novel which have been sharply etched and stand out with realistic distinctness against the prevailing unreality. The picture of a famine-stricken province, the inner conflict of Bhabananda, the sombre beauty of the dense wood-land, show the descriptive art of the author at its highest.

In *Devi Chaudhurani* the distracted society of the transitional period has been much more realistically presented than in *Anandamath*. Haraballabh is a truer product of the age than the leaders of the Sannyasi movement. Brajeswar represents a more genuine type of idealism which springs naturally out of the soil. Praphulla, though sedulously sought to be idealised beyond recognition, retains her feminine traits unimpaired, and with all her spiritual discipline and political drilling, shows herself a true Bengali girl who prefers the domestic life to the political throne. Bhawani Pathak is a more realistic Satyananda who is not entirely absorbed in his grandiose dreams but betrays more discernment of what is practicable. The military strategy and operations are in truer accord with actuality. Glimpses of the social and domestic life are more frequent and the realistic character of the entire novel more pronounced. On the whole, vision has been better reconciled with reality in the novel than in other books of the period. The moral purpose—the shaping of a perfect woman through an inculcation of the doctrine of disinterestedness—though sufficiently stresed, does not happily over-ride the inborn traits of character and the delicate aroma of femininity.

Sitaram delineates the history of a slightly earlier period. It deals with the efforts of a feudal lord to shake off the yoke of the central

authority and found a kingdom based on virtue and righteousness. The idea originates not in a sudden inspiration but gradually develops out of the initial success in resisting an act of local aggression. The religious fanaticism of the time, which must have been the chief factor in governing the relations between the two communities, gave the first impulse to this movement for freedom. The characters of Sitaram, Gangaram and Rama have been sketched with a psychological subtlety and penetration that would satisfy very exacting standards. The slow, yet inevitable, process of degradation working in Sitaram from the thwarted course of a perfecty legitimate passion is a masterpiece of psychological portrayal. Rama's too tender and over-solicitous affection for child and husband leads, by the unloosing of unsuspected forces, to the collapse of her husband's kingdom; in her strength and weakness, her lineaments are perfectly true to nature. The scene of Rama's trial shows Bankim's power of conveying the impression of surging, tumultuous multitudes with their sound instincts and sudden changes of mood, and might be compared to Scott's narration of the Porteous riots in his *Heart of Midlothian*, if we make allowance for the more militant aggressiveness of the mob in the latter. The fate of Sitaram's kingdom, emerging out of a short-lived religious ardour and undermined at its very inception by the forces of treachery and disruptiveness, dependent upon the personal character of the king with but little co-operation from the will of the people, is but too true a reflection of the general course of Bengal's efforts at political freedom and reveals a surprising degree of historical imagination in the novelist.

Kapalkundala (1867), though an early work standing second in the chronological list, shows both the originality and maturity of Bankim's art. He broaches here the problem, so dear to the heart of the romantic poet in all ages, as to how far it is possible for a girl bred in solitudes and under the spell of a special spiritual discipline, to adapt herself to the duties of wedded domestic life, for a wild flower of the moorland to be transplanted into the trim, well-ordered garden of society. The comparison with Miranda is obvious and has many times been attempted. But the problem in the two cases is not exactly the same. Miranda, although a stranger to love and to the male sex as represented in a youthful lover, takes to the new passion very kindly, after a little preliminary awkwardness in the initial advance. She dallies about the shore for some time, uncertain where to plunge: but

the spell is upon her from the very beginning, and her surrender to it is absolute and unwavering. Shakespeare does not raise the curtain from her post-nuptial life, and we have no difficulty in imagining her as an apt pupil in quickly learning the lessons of her new station. She would make, we are quite sure, an admirable Queen of Naples with all traces of her past life completely obliterated. Moreover, there is in her case no spiritual training calculated to chill the ardour of love and confirm unsocial habits and an unworldly cast of thought. With Kapalkundala, on the other hand, the problems of her post-marital life have been stressed most strongly. Her marriage is a surrender not to love, but to necessity. Her response to her husband's passion is chill and half-hearted. She learns neither the language of love nor the language of that worldly commerce which passes as the current coin of our social life. She moves through her domestic life with the curious absorption and unawareness of a sleep-walker. She still yearns for the solitudes of the sea-shore, the wild, irresponsible life that claimed her first love. The spiritual discipline of her childhood days operates as an active force and nips in the bud the birth of a new passion. The image of Kali hovers constantly before her imagination and beckons her on to her crowning act of self-sacrifice. And finally a wave of the sea washes her off into the Great Unknown out of which she had emerged. All this makes an altogether different tale from that of the Princess on Prospero's magic island, and it is time that the differences were properly accentuated. In *Kapalkundala*, the romance of the situation is unpropped on a historical basis and is plucked fresh from the stalk, in all its native, elemental wildness. It holds a unique place in the list of the author's works.

IV

Of the purely social novels of Bankim Chandra, two—*Bishabriksha* and *Krishnakanter Uil*—deserve special mention and afford evidence of the maturity of his powers. These novels, free from the admixture of history and dealing with contemporary life, present the fewest loopholes for any adverse criticism and should establish conclusively Bankim's rank among the leading novelists of the world. *Bishabriksha* (1873) is a story that deals with the temporary estrangement of a happy couple owing to the infatuation of the husband for a widowed girl who is a protégé of the family. The different stages of this

infatuation are described through suggestive hints and brief, but significant episodes, rather than through that method of a close-packed fulness of detail, so dear to the heart of the realist. Much of the misconception about the realism of Bankim's art is due to his studied avoidance of detail in the presentation of a spiritual crisis, his leaving big gaps in tracing the process of development, to be filled by the readers' imagination on the lines of the not too apparent clues so sparingly sprinkled by the author. This is the reason why readers accustomed to a diary-like accumulation of details, are apt to find his accounts of spiritual change rather sudden and insufficiently motivated. But if the novelist has been unduly reticent in tracing the dawn of passion in the relations between Nagendranath and Kundanandini, he has provided a rich recompense in the account of the subsequent disillusionment and penitence. The early years of the wedded happiness of Nagendra, seen through this retrospect of regret and penitence, are presented with the poignancy snd suggestiveness of poetry. The maid-servant, Hira, who has her own problem of unrequited passion, is the active force in the novel, fanning the sparks of jealousy and misunderstanding and holding the poison-cup to the lips of the unfortunate Kundanandini. She has been idealised to a certain extent, her passion being represented as much too pure and exacting for a woman of her class and moral standards ; but in her shrewd perception of the foibles of her master and mistress, and the unerring skill with which she utilises them for her own vindictive purposes, she satisfies the demands of realism. The novel has certain weak points, specially in its neglect to trace the growth of passion in Nagendranath after years of perfect wedded happiness, but, on the whole, it is a striking representation of the influence of unregulated passion in wrecking the happiness of even a well-ordered, disciplined life and of the volcanic forces that lie slumbering beneath the thin crust of the outer forms of respectability. It provided a new revelation as regards the power and possibilities of the Bengali novel.

Krishnakanter Uil traverses the same ground as *Bishabriksha* with riper powers and a more assured step. There is the same story of a widow, albeit more sophisticated and possessed of more seductive charm, who weans away a hitherto loving and faithful husband from loyalty to the conjugal tie. The love between Gobindalal and Bhramar has more kinship with a childlike extravagance of passion and has not stood the test of experience, such as that of the wedded

pair in *Bishabriksha*. Bhramar is a girl-wife and Gobindalal a young-man just out of his teens, and together they make of their first love a sort of a childish game, with its caresses, endearments and sudden, but brief, alienations. The slow process of Gobindalal's downfall, his sincere struggles against temptation have been set forth with a mastery of details and subtlety of psychological power that deserve all praise. When the comet-like beauty of Rohini first flashes across his path, Gobindalal feels no stir in his blood, but only a wave of pure fellow-feeling and sympathy. Circumstances conspire against his resolve to remain pure: he rescues Rohini from a watery grave whither she was urged by hopeless passion, and the resulting intimacy of contact ripens sympathy into the rosier hues of love. Rumour with her thousand tongues blows the sleeping embers into flame: family influences operate to hasten his downfall: and finally the wife herself, with her ill-timed jealousy and suspicion, undermines the last prop to her husband's constancy and with suicidal folly precipitates the crisis. The whole array of forces working against Gobindalal with their subtle interaction has been set forth with a superb marshalling power and the fall impresses us with a profound sense of fatalism, such as we experience when the malignity of circumstances leads to the undoing of a nature essentially noble. The methods followed in *Bishabriksha* and *Krishnakanter Uil* curiously supplement each other. In the former, the story of the struggle is briefly sketched, whereas that of the subsequent penitence is fully elaborated. In the latter, the processes are exactly reversed—the temptation occupying the greater portion of the canvas, the *dénouement* showing a tendency towards a rather hasty and conventional winding up. Disillusionment in *Krishnakanter Uil* finds an explosive vent in that notorious pistol-shot which sends Rohini to her doom, the immediate provocation being furnished by an attempted infidelity. Exception has been taken to this sudden taking-off of Rohini as a crude and inartistic device of getting rid of a beautiful sinner, who was making rather dangerous inroads upon the readers' sympathy. But to argue in this strain shows a misreading of the full purpose of the author. Rohini had no doubt been painted with a certain amount of sympathy legitimately called for by her premature widowhood. But Bankim had at the same time drawn pointed attention to the ess estimable traits of her character, her selfishness, designing art and absolute unscrupulousness in achieving her end, a strongly marked

strain of vulgarity in her nature. He never wanted our sympathy to blind us to this coarse-grained vulgarity, and sedulously discourages any tendency to idealise this victim of social injustice. His sympathies are unmistakably on the side of the girl-wife, the weeping, stay-at-home Penelope, who eats her body and soul out in patient expectation of the return of the erring husband. The story of the long-drawn-out agonies of Bhramar, and her slow lingering death, has been told with high-pitched tearful emotion which, according to Western standards of taste, degenerates into maudlin excess of sentimentality but against which Oriental taste is fortified by reason of the past traditions in its life and literature. The conclusion, at any rate, falls below the standard of the earlier parts. It makes too large concessions to convention and the element of surprise, and Gobindalal's putting on the monastic robes strikes a note of antiquity which ill accords with the modern realism of the novel. The religious scriptures like the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharat* dominated the mind of the novelist to the extent of influencing the conclusion, though his secular spirit was left free to shape the earlier phases of the struggle up to its culminating point.

The minor social and domestic novels of Bankim Chandra do not require any detailed treatment. Many of them stand very high from the standpoint of purely literary powers. Experiments in new novel-forms (the narration parcelled out among various speakers, as in *Rajani*, or monologues as in *Indira*), refreshing lightness of touch and exquisite outbursts of humour, shrewd reflections on human life, clever management of dialogue, vivid powers of narration, are all to be found in plenty in them. But the problems dealt with in them are comparatively trivial and unimportant and turn more on surprises in circumstances than on profound changes of or conflicts in character. On the whole, these minor novels can hardly be taken as adding any new feathers to Bankim's cap as a novelist, though they supply valuable evidence of his versatility of style and method.

V.

To sum up the achievements of Bankim in a short compass is anything but easy. He is, for all practical purposes, the founder of the historical novel. He has raised for the first time the social and domestic novel to the form and dignity of an art. He has created

the manner and technique of the novel and forged the right kind of style for it. The approach-work and prefatory sketch, the blending of dialogue and commentary, of narrative and interpretation, the manner subtly alternating between familiarity and seriousness, the gay and grave, rising with unforced transition to the highest emotional levels, the management of digressions, the style in all its various phases ranging between colloqualism and literary dignity, the tone of confidential intimacy with the reader that marks a novelist off from a preacher —all these subtle points of the technique of a novel, completely unknown in Bengal before Bankim's time, were, for the first time, fixed by him with an originality and intuitive rightness that extort surprise and admiration. Criticism has been levelled against the weakness of his psychology, the thinness of his history, the intrusion of alien purposes and the comparatively low standards of realism in his novels. To admit all these flaws is by no means to disparage his greatness. Bankim wrote at a time when the standards of psychological analysis and realism were not so exacting as they are to-day; nor was the disengagement of the novel from all hortatory and propagandist purposes so thorough. It is even now a debatable point whether the change has been an unmixed improvement; whether the sacrifice of freshness, adventure and of intuitive flashes of divination in character-study in the interest of a more plodding, scientific and microscopic treatment has really been worth while. And even in the realism-ridden fiction of Europe there are evidences of a sharp reaction, of a passionate yearning back for the freer breezes of romance. The happy results of such revolt are evidenced in a Stevenson, an H. G. Wells, who has refused to divorce fantasy from fiction, and a Bernard Shaw, who, in the sister art of the drama, has lighted the fire-works of his keen wit, to the total rejection of the dramatic proprieties. Surely it would be the height of captiousness to blame Bankim for having enjoyed the freedom of Romance in the form of art which he inaugurated and for failure to doff his hat to the new God of Realism even before he was formally installed on his throne of dulness.

THE ADWAITA OF THE GITA

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II

MAN has to rise above the narrow egoism of the ordinary human life and consciousness, and here comes in the importance of Shankara's experience of the silent, impersonal Self, the *nirguna* Brahman, which sits, *udasinavat*, above all the change and activity of the world. All this is Brahman, says the Upanishad ; all this is Vasudeva, says the Gita,—the supreme Brahman is all that moves or is stable and his hands and feet and eyes and heads and faces are on every side of us (13 13, 14). But still there are two aspects of this All,—his immutable eternal self that supports existence and his self of active power that moves abroad in the world movement. It is only when we lose our limited ego personality in the impersonality of the self that we arrive at the calm and free oneness by which we can possess a true unity with the universal power of the Divine in his world movement. As Shankara regarded the *saguna* or personal aspect of the Brahman as illusion, so Ramanuja regarded the *nirguna* or impersonal aspect as a blank void and non-existent. Missing this impersonal aspect of the Divine, Ramanuja had to conclude that the Jiva is essentially different from the Divine ; for it is in this impersonality that the Jiva is one with the Divine and all existence. The impersonal Self is the one self of all creatures. Imprisoned in personality we can get at a limited union by sympathy or by some relative accommodation of ourselves to the viewpoint and feeling and will of others. To be one with all and with the Divine and his will in the cosmos we must become at first impersonal and free from our ego and its claims and from the ego's way of seeing ourselves and the world and others. And we cannot do this if there is not something in our being other than the personality, other than the ego, an impersonal self one with all existences. To lose ego and be this impersonal self, to become this impersonal Brahman in our consciousness is, therefore, the first movement of this Yoga.

The Gita's description of this process, as summarised in the concluding chapter, seems at first sight to be nothing but the austere

Jnana Yoga of Shankara, by which man has to renounce life and work, and merge himself in the silence of the Eternal (18.51-53). But the Gita insists that " there must be no abandonment of the active life for a life of pure meditation ; action must always be done as a sacrifice to the supreme spirit (18.56). This movement of recoil in the path of *Sannyasa* prepares an absorbed disappearance of the individual in the Eternal, and renunciation of action and life in the world is an indispensable step in the process. But in the Gita's path of *tyaga* it is a preparation rather for the turning of our whole life and existence and of all action into an integral oneness with the serene and immeasurable being, consciousness and will of the Divine, and it preludes and makes possible a vast and total passing upward of the soul out of the lower ego to the inexpressible perfection of the supreme spiritual nature, *para prakriti.*"

This decisive departure of the Gita's thought is indicated in the next two verses. " When one has become the Brahman, when one neither grieves nor desires, when one is equal to all beings, then one gets the supreme love and devotion to Me. By devotion he comes to know Me, who and how much I am and in all the reality and principles of My being ; having thus known Me he entereth into That (Purushottama)" (18.54, 55). " But in the narrow path of knowledge *bhakti*, devotion to the personal Godhead, can be only an inferior and preliminary movement ; the end, the climax is the disappearance of personality in a featureless onenesss with the impersonal Brahman in which there can be no place for *bhakti* : for there is none to be adored and none to adore ; all else is lost in the silent immobile identity of the Jiva with the Atman. Here there is given to us something yet higher than the Impersonal, ... here there is the supreme Self who is the supreme Ishwara, here there is the supreme Soul and its supreme nature, here there is the Purushottama who is beyond the personal and impersonal and reconciles them on his eternal heights. The ego personality still disappears in the silence of the Impersonal, but at the same time there remains even with this silence at the back the action of a supreme Self, one greater than the Impersonal. There is no longer the lower blind and limping action of the ego and the three *gunas*, but instead the vast self-determining movement of an infinite spiritual Force, a free immeasurable Shakti. All Nature becomes the power of the one Divine and all action his action through the individual as channel and instrument. In place

of the ego there comes forward conscious and manifest the true spiritual individual in the freedom of his real nature, in the power of his supernal status, in the majesty and splendour of his eternal kinship to the Divine, an imperishable portion of the supreme Godhead, an indestructible power of the supreme Prakriti, *mamaivansha sanatanah, para prakritir jivabhuta* "

" We have always to keep in mind, " says Sri Aurobindo, " the two great doctrines which stand behind all the Gita's teachings with regard to the soul and Nature,—the Sankhya truth of the Purusha and Prakriti corrected and completed by the Vedantic truth of the threefold Purusha and the double Prakriti of which the lower form is the Maya of the three Gunas and the higher is the divine nature and the true soul-nature." Let us note here briefly how the different schools of Vedantic thought have interpreted these basic ideas of the Gita. Shankara says in his commentary on the 4th sloka of the seventh chapter that Apara Prakriti is the Maya Shakti ; Para Prakriti according to Shankara seems to be a misnomer ; for Prakriti is the power of creation, and all creation is by Maya or Apara Prakriti. Shankara interprets Para Prakriti as the Jiva or Kshetrajna which enters into the world created by Maya. Jiva or Kshetrajna again is really Brahman, Brahman associated with Maya or Avidya. Thus Shankara practically ignores Gita's clear distinction of the twofold Nature, Para and Apara. The Lord says in the Gita that it is by his own Prakriti, *swam prakritim,* that he creates the world. This certainly refers to Para Prakriti, of which Apara Prakriti is only the lower mechanical form made up of the three *gunas.* The Gita does not identify Para Prakriti with Jiva, as most commentators have done. " The supreme Nature, *para prakriti,* is the infinite timeless conscious power of the self-existent Being out of which all existences in the cosmos are manifested and come out of timelessness into Time. But in order to provide a spiritual basis for this manifold universal becoming in the cosmos the supreme Nature formulates itself as the Jiva. We must be careful not to make the mistake of thinking that this supreme Nature is identical with the Jiva manifested in Time in the sense that there is nothing else or that it is only nature of becoming and not at all nature of being: that could not be the supreme Nature of the Spirit. Even in time it is something more ; for otherwise the only truth of it in the cosmos would be nature of multiplicity and there would be no nature of unity in the world.

That is not what the Gita says: it does not say that the supreme Prakriti is in its essence the Jiva, *jivatmakam*, but that it has become the Jiva, *jivabhutam* ; and it is implied in that expression that behind its manifestation as the Jiva here it is originally something else and higher, it is nature of the one supreme Spirit. The Jiva, as we are told later on, is the Lord, Ishwara, but in his partial manifestation, *mamaivansha* ; even all the multiplicity of beings in the universe or in numberless universes could not be in their becoming the integral Divine, but only a partial manifestation of the infinite One. In them Brahman the one indivisible existence resides as if divided, *avibhaktam cha bhuteshu vibhaktam iva cha sthitam*. The unity is the greater truth, the multiplicity is the lesser truth, though both are a truth, and neither of them is an illusion." (*Essays on the Gita.*)

As regards the distinction between the two Purushas, *kshara* and *akshara*, Shankara has shown the same clumsiness of interpretation. He begins the commentary on sloka 16 in the fifteenth chapter by saying that the Akshara Purusha is Maya Shakti, and ends it by saying that it is really the abode of Maya. If Akshara Purusha be Maya, then it becomes identical with *apara prakriti*, and Gita's distinction becomes meaningless ; we may note here that other commentators of the Gita have identified Akshara Purusha with Para Prakriti ; but nowhere in the Upanishads or the Gita Prakriti has been called Purusha ; if on the other hand Akshara Purusha be the abode of Maya Shakti, then it becomes identical with Ishwara, as Shankara has conceived him ; but in the very next sloka the Gita says that Ishwara is other and higher than the Akshara Purusha, and he is called Paramatman. Here the Gita clearly says that Ishwara is supreme Atman, that is, supreme Brahman. Again in the thirteenth chapter (sloka 19), Shankara says that Prakriti and Purusha are the two Prakritis of Ishwara, *prakritim purusham chaiva ishwarasya prakriti tau*. This is to confound utterly the clear and precise distinctions made by the Gita as the basis of its integral Yoga. The two Purushas, Kshara and Akshara, of which the Gita speaks, are described in the Upanishadas in one place as two birds, in another place as two unborn ; they refer to the two statuses of Purusha, as distinguished from Prakriti. "To these two the Gita, developing the thought of other passages in the Upanishads,[1] adds yet another, the supreme,

[1] *Purushah aksharat paratah parah*,—although the Aksharah is supreme, there is a supreme Purusha higher than it, says the Upanishad.

the Purushottama, the highest Purusha, whose greatness all this creation is. Thus there are three, the Kshara, the Akshara, the Uttama. Kshara, the mobile, the mutable is Nature, *Swabhava*, it is the various becoming of the soul; the Purusha here is the multiplicity of the divine Being; it is the Purusha multiple not apart from, but in Prakriti. Akshara, the immobile, the immutable, is the silent and inactive self, it is the unity of the divine Being, Witness of Nature, but not involved in its movement; it is the inactive Purusha free from Prakriti and her works. The Uttama is the Lord, the supreme Brahman, the supreme Self, who possesses both the immutable unity and the mobile multiplicity. It is by a large mobility and action of His nature, His energy, His will and power, that He manifests Himself in the world and by a greater stillnes and immobility of His being that He is aloof from it; yet is He as Purushottama above both the aloofness from Nature and the attachment to Nature." (*Essays on the Gita.*)

Shankara in his commentary on the fifteenth chapter of the Gita, sloka 16, says that the two Purushas, Kshara and Akshara, are two aspects of Brahman associated with Maya. When Brahman appears as the world of change and multiplicity, it is the Kshara Purusha ; and Brahman as the abode of Maya which creates the illusion of the Kshara is the Akshara Purusha. This would tally with the Gita's description if we regard Maya to be the Prakriti of the Gita. The Lord when he identifies himself with the workings of his prakriti and seems to change with its changes, he is the Kshara; and when the Lord remains dissociated from Prakriti, but supports the world-play by his immutability and silence, he is the Akshara ; but these two are only two aspects of the Purushottama, which exist in him simultaneously. In one place the Lord says that he is the foundation of Brahman, that is, of the Akshara Purusha (14.27). Shankara could not go so far, and had to interpret the meaning of the Gita in his own way to support his position that the silent, inactive Brahman is the supreme Reality. What Shankara means by Purushottama or Ishwara is really the Lord of the Gita in the Kshara aspect ; and what he means by the highest *nirguna* Brahman is the Gita's Lord in the Akshara ; Shankara had no vision of the Gita's Purushottama and Para Prakriti.

Ramanuja was greatly influenced by the Gita's conception of a supreme Person as the highest reality, and regarded devotion and surrender to this supreme Person as the highest *sadhana* and *siddhi* for the Jiva.

But he also failed to reach the integral vision of the Gita, as he could not appreciate the impersonal aspect of the Divine in which it is one and identical with all creatures. So the devotion of the Gita is not merely the relation of a servant to his master, as Ramanuja conceived it, but it includes all personal relations, and finds its highest fulfilment in the love and devotion of a lover to his beloved, which has its basis in the realisation of essential identity,—the One becoming the many to taste his own love in infinite ways. This aspect of devotion, developed in the Puranas, found remarkable expression in the *sadhana* and realisation of Sri Chaitanya, the great exponent of *achintya-bhedabheda*.

Ramanuja also has not the Gita's vision of Para Prakriti; he identifies Para Prakriti with the world of souls, *chit*, and Apara Prakriti with the world of matter, *achit*. The souls, according to Ramanuja, are many who are different from one another and from the Divine; but Para Prakriti, according to the Gita, is one which formulates herself as many souls. Ramanuja missed this principle of unity of the souls and their essential identity with the Divine. According to Ramanuja, Akshara and Kshara refer to souls liberated and bound respectively. But, as we have seen above, the two Purushas of the Gita do not refer to individual souls, bound or liberated, but to two statuses of the Divine Purushottama. Souls which take the poise of Kshara, and identify themselves with the play of Prakriti, and enjoy the *gunas* born of Prakriti, are bound; and when they withdraw themselves from the play of Prakriti into the silence of the Akshara, they are liberated: this is what Shankara means by Mukti, and the Buddhists by Nirvana. But that is not the highest status of the soul according to the Gita; that will be reached when the soul, rising above narrow egoism through the impersonal immutable Self or Akshara, will take the poise of the Purushottama, *madbhava*, and with the silence and liberation of the Akshara within will associate with the play of Nature not as slaves of her *gunas*, but as masters like the Purushottama himself, and as luminous instruments of his will in the world.

In one essential point all the schools of Vedantic thought so far considered have agreed to differ from the Gita; according to all of them this world is a bondage for the soul, one must renounce it in order to attain the true goal, though they differ among themselves about the nature of this *mukti* and the practical *sadhana* that will

lead to it. This agreement has arisen from their conception of the origin of this world, which according to them is a creation of Maya consisting of the three *gunas* which keep souls bound to this life of ignorance and suffering. But why has God or Brahman created or allowed the creation of this world of suffering and ignorance ? Shankara escapes this question by saying that there is really no creation, and no suffering, it is all a dream, an illusion, which is to be dispelled by true knowledge. Ramanuja and others do ont regard the world as an illusion ; so they explain suffering by *anadi karma* ; men suffer on account of their past *karma* and are released by the grace of the Divine. But this is only shifting the question, for whence comes this *karma* which is the root of so much suffering? By *karma* the Gita means *visarga* or the creative movement. But how does the Divine who is all-bliss and all-powerful, tolerate this creation of evil and suffering ? Some say it is a sport of the Divine, *Lila* ; others say that there is an inconscient or *achit* principle outside the Divine which is really responsible for all this imperfection and suffering. The Gita, however, does not take refuge in any of these explanations which really explain nothing or assert limitation in the limitless infinite One. The Gita also regards this worldly life as full of suffering, *anityam asukham lokam*, but it does not on that account want to escape from this world in search of bliss in Vaikuntha or Goloka or of *nirvana* in a silent featureless Brahman or Shunyam. The Gita regards the present life of the world as a deformation and a lower play and wants to have it transformed into its true nature in which it is divine. The world according to the Gita is not essentially evil, not a creation of Maya or Apara Prakriti (this is only the lower mechanism of creation), but a creation of Para Prakriti ; and this Para Prakriti is identical with the Divine Himself. " Speaking first of the origin of the world from the point of view of the active power of his Nature, Krishna assevers, ' This is the womb of all beings,' (7-6), and in the next line of the couplet, again stating the same fact from the point of view of the originating Soul, he continues, ' I am the birth of the whole world and so too its dissolution ; there is nothing else supreme beyond Me.' Here then the supreme Soul, Purushottama, and the supreme Nature, Para Prakriti, are identified ; they are put as two ways of looking at one and the same reality. For when Krishna declares ' I am the birth of the world and its dissolution,' it is evident that it is this Para Parakriti,

supreme Nature, of his being which is both these things." Yet there is a difference, for the Lord says, " My supreme Prakriti," *prakritim me param* ; but the relation between the Lord and his supreme Prakriti is not one of substance and attribute, as the Bhedabhedins would have it; the difference is only of aspects. Brahman in his aspect of dynamism is Prakriti. " The Spirit is the supreme Being in his infinite consciousness, and the supreme Nature is the infinity of power or will of being of the Spirit,—it is his infinite consciousness in its inherent divine energy and its supernal divine action." Sri Ramakrishna graphically described it thus: " When the snake is still, it is the Purusha *bhava*, then Prakriti remains merged as one with Purusha ; and when the snake is moving, then it seems that Prakriti is working apart from Purusha. Fundamentally it is one substance, *abheda*," " Water is water whether it moves or remains still."

Para Prakriti is of the nature of *sat, chit, ananda*, so the world originated from it is essentially *sachchidananda* ; as Sri Ramkrishna used to say, the world is saturated with the *rasa* of Sachchidananda. This divine nature of the world is now hidden, it has to be manifested. There is nothing really inconscient or *jada* in this world ; even the most material atom is the *sachchidananda* Divine, who remains self-limited and self-withdrawn to create conditions for the manifestation of divine life under material conditions. The Ananda which is all the while behind the world movement has to be brought to the front, that is the whole meaning of terrestrial evolution and human life. The very nature of the Divine is *ananda*, and there can never be any element of suffering in him ; what appears to us as suffering, is really *ananda* as deformed and distorted by our egoistic ignorant nature ; with the transformation of our nature, the whole of life will be full of light and peace and power and joy. If the Divine has consented to undergo suffering and ignorance in the Jiva, it can only be for the purpose of transmuting all this suffering into the stuff of some new ineffable *ananda*, and establishing divine life under terrestrial conditions.

And is not this after all " the real Adwaita which makes no least scission in the one eternal Existence ? This utmost undividing Monism sees the one as the one even in the multiplicities of Nature, in all aspects, as much in the reality of self and of cosmos as in that greatest reality of the supracosmic which is the

source of self and the truth of the cosmos and is not bound either by any affirmation of universal becoming or by any universal or absolute negation. That at least is the Adwaita of the Gita." The Gita holds up the old Vedantic knowledge of the Upanishads constantly before us; but it is its superiority to other later formulations of it that it turns persistently this knowledge into a great practical philosophy of divine living.

In this way the Gita made a great, perhaps the greatest synthesis of Aryan spiritual culture. In its turn it became the starting point of various schools which differed in their emphasis on different aspects of its teaching. Now, again, the urgent need is being felt of a new and higher synthesis, and a broad foundation of it has been laid by Sri Ramakrishna. There is a tendency to identify the Ramakrishna school of thought with the Adwaita and Mayavad of Shankara; but that is certainly not justified by the life and teaching of the Master himself who went far beyond the Shankarite Totapuri in his spiritual realisations. Where Shankara ends, Ramakrishna begins. Shankara had a vision only of the silent and inactive aspect of the Brahman; Ramakrishna saw beside that its active aspect, the Shakti, which he found to be identical with Brahman. Swami Vivekananda, though a critical student of the philosophy of Shankara, seems to have been deeply impressed by Shankara's spiritual experience of the eternal silence. But Ramakrishna saw silence and activity as two aspects of the same Reality. Let us quote here some of his own revelatory words on the Brahman and the Shakti:

"In one aspect he is *nitya*, the Eternal, in another he is *Lila* or the world-play. It is he who has become Jiva, Jagat and the twenty-four *tattwas*. When he is inactive we call him Brahman. When he creates, preserves, destroys, we call him Shakti. Brahman and Shakti are identical—water is as much water when it moves as when it is still."

"Perfect knowledge and perfect devotion are the same thing. By '*neti, neti*' we arrive at Brahman knowledge; after that we take up again what we had renounced."

"Both the roof and the staircase are made of the same stuff, brick and mortar. The world of soul and matter is made of the substance of Brahman."

"That which is Brahman, that is Kali (*paradevi Shivabhinna*). He who is Purusha is Prakriti; we call him the World-Mother."

" At first Brahman and Shakti seem to be two: after realisation of Brahmajnana, there is no duality. Abheda One. There is no two in that One. Adwaitam."

" Hazra would not believe that Brahman and Shakti, Shakti and Shaktiman were *abheda*. I prayed to the Mother, ' Hazra is trying to upset the view held here. Either make him understand this, Mother, or remove him from this place.' The very next day Hazra came and said, Yes, I admit."

This Mother of Sri Ramakrishna is not the ignorant, inconscient, illusory eternal principle of the Mayavadins. She is the supreme conscious Power, *chinmayi*, and the world she creates is pervaded by her consciousness; all things are *chinmaya*, conscious, even the most material. The world is a manifestation of *chit shakti*, so it is real, true. But Brahman is the truth,—higher *Satyasya satyam*. " I take both," said Ramakrishna, "otherwise there is something lacking."

Ramakrishna admitted Mayavad as one of the spiritual paths, but as a path which was dry and difficult, though it might be suited to some particular temperaments. He himself regarded the path of devotion and surrender to the Personal Divine as the easiest and at the same time the highest path. In all this he interpreted the true teaching of the Gita. On the basis of the Adwaita of the Gita Sri Ramakrishna made a synthesis of Vedanta and Tantra, which has opened up immense possibilities for the divinisation of human life on earth.

TWO FRENCH SOCIOLOGISTS : LÉVY-BRUHL AND BOUGLÉ

DR. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

[The deaths of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and Calestin Bouglé in 1940 have removed from the world of science two outstanding sociologists of the contemporary world. Laterly Lévy-Bruhl was known chiefly as a worker in the psychological fields of cultural anthropology. In Bouglé's studies politics, socialism and education constituted a substantial part. The works of both these French Sociologists have been often discussed in the articles and Miscellany of the *Calcutta Review* since 1926. The following obituary notices are being reproduced from the *American Sociological Review* for June, 1940. The paper on Lévy-Bruhl is the contribution of N. Mirkowich of the University of California, and that on Bouglé of P. Honigsheim of Michigan State College—B. K. Sarkar.]

LUCIEN LÉVY-BRUHL (1857-1940)

SHORTLY after Paul Fauconnet died in the fall of 1938, came the death of Professor Lucien Lévy-Bruhl.[1] In these men, France lost two able sociologists of the post-Durkheim generation, which was responsible not only for the final introduction of positivism into French social thought, but also for a similar development of sociology in other parts of Europe. While Fauconnet was a devoted disciple and follower of Emile Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, originally a philosopher, was an independent mind, a pioneer in his field of research, contributing to sociology, social philosophy, and psychology a definite system of interpretation which gives him an outstanding place in the history of these disciplines.

Earlier publications of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl indicate his original interest in pure philosophy. There is, among other works of minor importance, a history of modern philosophy in France prepared for the American and British readers.[2] More significant is his interpretation

[1] Lucien Lévy-Bruhl: Professor, *Faculté de Lettres, Université de Paris.* Born, Paris, April, 1857. Education, *Lycée Charlemagne, Ecole Normale Supérieure* (1876-1879). Positions: teacher at *Lycée Poitiers* (Amiens); *Louis-le-Grand* (Paris); lecturer and Professor: *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (1895); *Sorbonne* (1899). Publications: *L'idée de responsabilité* (1884); *The History of Modern Philosophy in France* (1889); *L'Allemagne depuis Leibniz* (1890); *La Philosophie de Jacobi* (1894); *Lettres inedites de John Stuart Mill à Auguste Comte* (1899); *La Philosophie d'Auguste Comte* (1900); *La morale et la science des moeurs* (1902); *Les fonctions mentales dans le sociétés primitives* (1910); *La mentalité primitive* (1922); *Jean Jaures: Essai bibliographique* (1924); *L'âme primitive* (1927); *Surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive* (1931); *Mythologie primitive: le monde mythique des Australiens et des Papous* (1935); *L'experience mystique et les symboles chez les primitifs* (1938).

[2] *History of Modern Philosophy in France.* Chicago, 1899.

of the work and thought of Auguste Comte,[3] still one of the best presentations of the teachings of the great social philosopher. Special interest is paid to Comte's concept of science, natural and social, which is the very foundation of modern sociology.

These earlier works excepted, Lévy Bruhl's efforts were directed toward a special aspect of social life. The six books he wrote on primitive mentality are a unique contribution to sociology and social psychology, and no doubt will be a solid basis for future advanced work in these fields. Of the six volumes which appeared in Felix Alcan's series, " *Bibliotheque de Philosophie Sociale*," four have been translated into English by Lilian A. Clare. The last two studies exist only in French.

Lévy-Bruhl's theory and the principal thesis of his studies can be summarized as follows. Our contemporary civilization has developed its own system of thinking, which many people accept as " given," " natural " and " unalterable." This " logical mentality " is in fact nothing but an advanced type of thinking, formed with the evolution and differentiation of society, and based on some fundamental presumptions such as the distinction between perception and action, cause, consequence, individual and environment, etc. The system of thinking of the primitive (undifferentiated) society, the primitive mentality, is a different one. On the one hand, this mentality was an attribute of our society centuries ago and some vestiges of it still exist ; on the other hand, it is the mentality of primitive social groups of our own time (natives of Africa, America, Australasia). Many attempts to " understand " individual and collective behavior in these primitive groups have failed because that behavior is an expression of a different mental type. The white man frequently calls the behavior of an African or Australian " stupid " or " childish " because he does not realize that their minds operate in an entirely different way from his own. The system of thinking characteristic of the primitive undifferentiated social group Lévy-Bruhl calls the " primitive " or ' pre-logical mentality."

Pre-logical mentality is also founded on some basic presumptions: the individual is identified with his social group ; there is a complete solidarity between them.[4] The group is embodied in the

[3] *The Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, Tr. Kathleen De Beaumont-Klein, Intro. by Frederic Harrison. London, 1903.

[4] *The Soul of the Primitive*, 59-86. London, 1928.

individual and the individual is always and everywhere with the group.[5] "The individual, as such, scarcely enters into the representations of the primitives. For them, he only really exists in so far as he participates in his group or in his species.[6] Integrating the group in himself, the individual can also be separated in time and place, part of this personality can enter another being, or even a thing. A Melanesian finds his *tamaniu* in a stone, in a tree, or, in an animal.[7] Pre-logical mentality makes no distinctions of time and place. One can be in different places at the same time. These views are the basis of Lévy-Bruhl's so-called "law of participation" which is the most important part of his theory.[8] Pre-logical mentality makes no distinction between reality and imagination. Dreams are taken for realities,[9] just as the past is taken for the present. The confusion of past and present is a very important element in the primitive technique of thinking: with them, memory takes the place of operations which elsewhere depend upon a logical process.[10] The discovery, definition, and interpretation of these mental confusions and identifications is the central part of Lévy-Bruhl's works. In addition to that, he has developed a theory of mythical and mystical environment in the primitive society.

How Natives Think was originally published in 1910 (*Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inferieures*) and *Primitive Mentality* (*La mentalité primitive*) did not appear until after the World War (1922). In the first book, the author's principal attention was given to the "law of participation" and the "thinking technique" of the primitive; the latter book contained a very detailed discussion of the place of dreams and omens in pre-logical mentality and primitive psychology. Both publications were based on an enormous amount of anthropological source material. Then in 1927 came *The Soul of the Primitive* (*L'âme primitive*) which is even more important than *How Natives Think*. Three years later, Lévy-Bruhl published his *Surnaturél et la nature dans la mentalité primitive* (1930) [11] which deals with problems of the supernatural and mystical in the primitive's conceptions.[12] Always searching for new materials, ready to

5 "The Group Inherent in the Individual." *Ibid*, 185-204.
6 *Ibid*, 185. 7 *Ibid*, 157.
8 *How Natives Think*, 69-114. London, 1926.
9 *Primitive Mentality*, 97-121. New York, 1923.
10 *How Natives Think*, 115.
11 *Primitives and the Supernatural*. New York, 1935.
12 *Cf.* the introductory part, *ibid*, 19-36.

accept new views, and to improve his theoretical structure, he was able to finish two or more books on the latter subject, *La mythologie primitive* (1935) and *Experience mystique et les symboles chez primitifs* (1938) which gave a somewhat final form to his invaluable work.

Celestin Charles Bouglé (1870-1940)[1]

In the United States, where he gave a number of lectures and was accorded an honorary doctorate by Columbia University, Celestin Bouglé was considered as one of the most characteristic representatives of French sociology and French scientific thought. He was a very independent man who always professed his convictions and also was open-minded to the cultural life of other countries, but in choosing his objects of investigation and in maintaining some special points of view, he showed himself to be a true son of France and an able exponent of its traditions. This will appear clearly in a consideration of his epistemological, statistical, anthropological, historical, organizational, administrative, teaching, and political attitudes.

Considering first his concept of the essence of sociology, it seems that Bouglé never regarded himself primarily as a methodologist. He did not profess essentially new epistemological theories but he gradually developed a rather more and more definite and fixed epistemological point of view. Always rejecting the mystical concept developed by Comte in his last period, Bouglé, like most adherent to the positivism of the earlier Comte, conceived the essential duty of the cultural sciences generally and of sociology especially to be the achievement of systematized knowledge for the purpose of prediction. In order to achieve this, sociology has to be primarily a theoretical science of a character completely independent of any metaphysical and religious preconceptions. For that reason, he always strongly disapproved of every kind of neo-romanticism or deductivism as

[1] Bouglé, Celestin Charles Alfred (1870-1940): educated at *Ecole, Normale Supérieure de Paris*; Ph. D. 1899; subsequently professor at *Lycée de St. Brieu*, 1898; *Faculté de Letters de Toulouse*, 1900; *Université de Paris*, 1901; Director of *Ecole Normale Supérieure de Paris*, 1935; Hon. LL.D., Chicago, 1929, and Columbia University, 1938; Publications *Les sciences sociales en Allemagne*, 1895; *Les idées égalitaires*, 1899; *La sociologie biologique*, 1900; *La démocratie devant la science*, 1904, 1909; *Essais sur le régime des castes*, 1908; *La sociologie de Proudhon*, 1911; *Chez les prophètes socialistes*, 1918; *Proudhon et notre temps*, 1920; *Lecons de sociologie sur l'evolution des valeurs*, 1922 (English translation: *The Evolution of Values*, translated by Helen Stalker Sellars, 1926); *Qu'est ce que le sociologie*, 1925; *La sociologie économique*, 1930; *Le bilan de la sociologie francaise contemporaine*, 1935. Died in Paris on January 25, 1940.

developed by Spengler, Scheler, and other writers, but he came later to approve some essential parts of the most commonly known contemporary French philosophical system, that of Bergson, with its separation of intuition from the analysis of facts, and to accept the epistemology of Max Weber, with his theory and method of separating judgments of value and statements of fact. When Bouglé accepted this point of view, the struggle between statisticians and historians in sociology seemed senseless; the use of both of these kinds of research appeared to him sufficient. Therefore, he suggested new statistical investigations and at the same time himself carried out very important research work in the history of social institutions and ideas.

In history, he, like most French historians, held some points of view similar to the English and American concept of social history but completely different from the German one. The predominant official historical schools in Germany, especially that of Ranke, had identified history with the history of states and had completely separated the history of societies organized as states and known by written sources, from the history of the so-called uncivilized peoples and epochs. Therefore, in Germany, the prehistorians and ethnologists, though world-famous and having great influence upon the investigations made in other nations, such as Adolf Bastian, were for a long time treaded as "outsiders" by the "official" social scientists and historians. In France, on the contrary, the evolutionism initiated by Voltaire and Condorcet formed the background of all French sociology and effected a close union between written and unwritten history. This was also the position of Bouglé, who, in conformity to this point of view, did work in both fields. One of his most voluminous works, *Essai sur le regime des castes*, was in the field of social anthropology considered as an historical science. The term "caste" is used in the French sense rather than the American, *i.e.*, it refers to hereditary groups, separated from one another by religious practice and the concept of ritual impurity.

Even more comprehensive was Bouglé's publication in the history of social thought. His selection of subjects for analysis in this connection can be understood only by knowledge of the scientific and political situation of France during his lifetime. Marxism never became popular in France because in that country the individual and his desire to be associated with others, and not the economic factor,

was always considered to be the background of society, as indicated by the social theory of the 18th century and by the different constitutions. On the other hand, the so-called pre-Marxist collectivistic writers—while ridiculed as "Utopians" by Friedrich Engels—were in France not infrequently regarded as one of the most characteristic kinds of French synthesis between individualism and socialism. Especially in the period in which France began to turn from a pure *laissez faire* economy to a moderately planned one, such interest was increasing. However, this was more a frame of mind rather than an exact knowledge since the pre-Marxists had written many pamphlets often difficult to find or to read. Therefore investigations and good editions were necessary. For that purpose, Prohommeaux's book on Cabet, Puech's book on Rose Tristan and others were written, but more and more Bouglé became the centre of these studies. He wrote general books on that period and especially on Proudhon; he edited works of Saint-Simon, and organized the great, precise, and complete edition of all writings of Proudhon. This publication is typical of his technique of organizing scientific work. Provided with kindliness and a keen psychological sense, he was able to select as collaborators such men as Maxime Leroy, René Maunier, Roger Piccard, and Puech. He stimulated them to work tirelessly by means of unofficial luncheons, the so-called "*Diners Proudhon*," and was himself an excellent example of determined and systematized effort.

The same capacities were manifested in reorganising the *Année sociologique*. Under the leadership of its founder, Bouglé's master, Durkheim, this publication had long been a world-famous review, but during Durkheim's last years and after his death, the section containing reviews of new books often consumed such an undue proportion of each issue that the interest of the general public in the periodical decreased. Bouglé reorganized it in collaboration with Paul Fauconnet, Halbwachs, the sociological statistician, Marcel Mauss, the organiser of anthropological investigation of the French colonies, and his own assistants, some of them former students.

This fact is closely connected with his scientific administrative work as vice-director and later as director of the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* in Paris. Here students of the liberal arts and natural sciences selected by special examinations in all parts of France, considered as *élite*, stipendiaries of the state, and intended to be future University professors, receive a higher education, participating not only

in the courses at the University of Paris but also in special courses taught in the *Ecole* and in other institutions. Here Bouglé had the opportunity to apply his discretion and unassuming character in tolerating, encouraging, and protecting young people gifted with endowments, different, or in some special spheres, superior, to Bouglé himself and later was able to supply such students with special work. All these people, present and former "*Normaliens*," came together under Bouglé's chairmanship in the "Tuesday evenings" of the "*Centre de documentation Sociale*" (the Social Science Institute of the Superior Normal School). These famous "Tuesday evenings" were, along with his courses on the history of social thought, his best known teaching. The lectures given here by the participants were often parts or outlines of later publication, edited and introduced by Bouglé himself. These often treated present-day problems; but here also the editor insisted strenuously on separation of the scientific statement of facts from the political activity which may use the results of such independent investigation to change social situations, although he himself, when younger, was much involved in politics.

Like so many French youths in the period of the so-called "*Dreyfus-Affaire*," he was an adherent of the so-called "radical-socialist" party. Conforming to the French usage, the name "radical-socialist" means "radical" in the sense of complete separation of State and church. In Europe, with its historical background completely different from the American, this view is considered extremely radical. The "socialist" in "radical-socialist" merely means State intervention in economics and welfare and voluntary mutual help in the form of co-operative Society (in that sense, Proudhon and some other pre-Marxians were considered as forerunners), while retaining complete individual freedom in the intellectual sphere. Connected with this last mentioned attitude was his activity in the "League of the Rights of Man"—also a characteristically French institution founded likewise in the *Dreyfus-Affaire Epoche* to protect every individual persecuted by any powerful group for his religious, scientific, or political convictions. The same mentality made him ever a pacifist. After the war, he was one of the first French professors to go to Germany to work for reconciliation (in 1922). Immediately after Hitler became powerful, he opened the doors of the Superior Normal School to German scientific refugees. This sympathy persisted until his death, although after becoming vice-director and later director of the *Ecole Normale*

NOTIONS ON PURIFICATION AND TABOO IN SOCIETY

BHUPENDRANATH DATTA, A.M., DR.PHIL.

I

IT is generally said that a principal characteristic of Brahmanism which is popularly known as orthodox Hinduism is *Achara* which may be called as notions about purifications and prohibitions. The notions about personal purification and pure or clean and impure or unclean things and persons, and regulations about food and contact with things and persons, are very strong with Brahmanism. These prohibitions have led to develop various rules which are called by the Ethnologists and the Sociologists as taboos.[1] The present-day Hindu life is hedged around with various sorts of taboos, *viz.*, social, sex and food.

All these regulations apparently give impressions that the Hindu society is a peculiar one, that it has followed a peculiar line of development which marks it out singularly from the rest of the humanity. But before we accept this conclusion we must make a comparative study of the conditions of other peoples, ancient and modern, in these matters. Hence our enquiry in this matter should begin with the nations of antiquity.

EGYPT

The ancient Egyptian sacred books allowed to kill all oxen of a particular description, but the sacrifice of a heifer was strictly forbidden. In order to enforce this prohibition, the heifer was regarded as sacred.[2] Thus the notion of purity developed the law of prohibition and it in turn gave rise to the idea of sacredness. This belief in sacredness gave rise to the custom of esteeming cow more highly than any other animal (Herodotus, II. 41). As a result, the Egyptians used to be horrified of those persons whose religion enjoined the killing and eating of the same animal. This notion was carried to such an

[1] The word "taboo" itself occurs in Atharva Veda (V. 13. 10), and it also occurs, as reported to me by some of my Andhra friends in the form of "tapu" in Telugu language. In this form it is identical with the Polynesian one. Regarding this word see S. Levi "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India," p. 25, translated by P. C. Bagchi.

[2] Sir I. G. Wilkinson, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, Vol. III, Ch. XV, p. 44.

extreme "that no Egyptian of either sex could be induced to kiss a Greek on the mouth, to make use of his knife, his spit, or his cooking utensils, nor even to taste the meat of a clean beast which has been slaughtered by his hand." [1] Thus, prohibition giving rise to the idea of sacredness led to differentiation of clean and unclean things which developed taboos.

Again, the Egyptians had the custom of washing of hands before a meal which was a regulation for keeping purity.[2]

Thus, we see the notion of clean and unclean things and persons, ideas of purity and regulations regarding them were not unknown in ancient Egypt. In these notions of food and contact taboos we find similarities with the same of the Hindus.

Babylonia

The ideas of purification of the Babylonians were mixed up with exorcisms, spells, etc. Religious theories elaborated by the priests influenced the idea of purifications. "The idea, itself, to be sure, belongs to the primitive notion of taboo, which specifics an unclean condition due to contact with something either too sacred or too profane to be touched." [3] Again, the practice of becoming clean by washing was extant in the Mesopotamian Valley. "Motive of washing was symbolical removal of the contamination and often its symbolical transfer by the water to some object, rendered by incantation of a representation of the supposed author of the trouble, *e.g.*, a clay or wax origin of the witch." [4]

Here it is clear that the idea of purity is involved in the idea of the force of contact. Again, there was notion of sex purity as "All sexual intercourse involved the necessity for purification." [4] *

Palestine

The notions of the Jews regarding purifications, and the taboos regarding food and sex *emanating* from them are well known; these

[1] Sir J. G. Wilkinson, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," Vol. III, p. 44. As evidence see Bible, Exodus, VIII, 26. 27, where Moses asking the permission of the Pharaoh about sacrifice says, "It is not meet to do so, for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God and will they not stone us."

[2] Hastings, "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics," Vol. 10, p. 477.

[3] M. Jastrow, "Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria," p. 366.

[4] Hastings, "Encyclopaedia," Vol, 10, p. 467.

* This is also orthodox Brahmanical in junction.

are still being observed by the orthodox Jewry. Regarding sex taboo, there were rules about marrying in one's caste or class, and even in one's family (Numbers, XXXVI, 5-12). Then, there were laws regarding the length of pollution on account of death [1] (Numbers, XIV, 3-6, 14, 15) and menstruation (Isiah LXIV, 6, Esther, XIV, 6). Also, there was taboo on strangers (Ezekiel, XLIV, 7-9). Again, there were food taboos (Ezekiel, XLIV, 31), and there were also taboos regarding contact (Ezekiel, XLIV, 25). Thus, Abbe Dubois said, the Hebrew precepts about cleanliness and uncleanliness are similar in many respects to the Hindus." [2]

Persia

The Magian priesthood had notion of purification, and it was one of the primary functions of this class.[3] As much of the Zoroastrian records have been destroyed by the Macedonian and the Arab conquest, we do not know much about the ancient conditions, yet we know that earth, fire and some elements were regarded as pure, and the ancient Zoroastrians had definite ideas about purity and impurity. "The recognition of the necessity for purity of body and mind is a cardinal principle of the Zoroastrian, as of Hindu religion, and is responsible for various ceremonies as well as daily observances in food, drink, dress, etc." [4] And we know from modern history that original practices of purity and prohibitions got their impetus from the Arab conquest, as a result, the Zoroastrian society became encrusted like that of the Hindus. "The more the Zoroastrians were persecuted, the more they kept aloof from non-Zoroastrians...A Zoroastrian should purify himself with cow's dung (nirang) after touching a non-Zoroastrian. (Kandin Shapar Rivayat, 16 A.D.)...a Zoroastrian should not partake of any food prepared by a non-Zoroastrian, even when travelling (Kaus, Mahyas Rivayat),[5] neither of clarified butter (*ghi*) nor of honey prepared by non-Zoroastrians. Fruit touched by the latter has to be washed before it is eaten (Nariman Hashang Rivayat). Any marriage with the non-Zoroastrian is strictly prohibited." [6]

[1] Compare the Asaucha custom of the Hindus.
[2] Abbe Dubois, "Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies," p. 46.
[3] Hastings, "Encyclopaedia," Vol. 10, p. 321.
[4] S. C. Roy, "Caste, Race and Religion in India," *Man in India*, Vol. XIV, June, 1934, No. 2, p. 175.
[5] Rivayat is Reports, *i.e.*, explanations, brought from Persia from 1478 to 1768 A.D. for the use of the Zoroastrian refugees in India.
[6] Hastings, "Encyclopaedia," Vol. 6, pp. 153-54.

Thus, like the Hindus in similar circumstances the Zoroastrians developed strict prohibitive rules about food and marriage. "With the Parsis eating and drinking are religious rites." [1]

GREECE

The Hellenes had strong notions about purity. Not only bloodshed, but any contact with the dead and the ghost world was regarded as impure. The household of the dead person[2] was considered as impure, even those who attended the obsequies were regarded as impure. In the case of childbirth, [2] both the woman and the man of the house used to become impure, as childbirth was a strong source of impurity. Though the Greeks were generally freed from the notion about clean and unclean animals, yet, certain temple laws indicate that in order to attain the necessary condition for participation in religious service, one should have to abstain for a time from eating certain foods. This gave rise to taboos on salt-fish, cheese, garlic and perhaps pork (perhaps due to Asiatic influence).[3]

Thus, in the case of the Greeks we find that notion about impurity was very strong in some cases as mentioned above ; in these matters they went further than the Hindus. Then, this idea of purity gave rise to some taboos which in the case of cheese and garlic were identical with the prohibitions of the Hindu Smriti texts.[4]

ROME

The ancient Romans had their notions of purification and taboos as well. The priest of the *Flama Dialis* was subject to "galling restrictions and a long list of taboos. He could not touch, approach or name any animal or object with which in Roman religious consciousness an idea of uncleanliness was associated—a corpse, a bier, raw meat, beans, a dog, a goat, or a horse. He was forbidden to hear the sound of the flutes played at a funeral. In a word he was excluded from every possible contact with death or with anything with the cult of the dead." [3] Besides these, there was another series of taboos for him ! "If a man in fetters entered his house, he was immediately released and the chains, in order to

[2] I. I. Modi, "Anthropological Papers," Pt. II, pp. 63-64.
[2] Hastings, "Encyclopaedia," Vol. 10, p. 486. Regarding the impurities in connection with a corpse and childbirth, compare the Hindu Laws. *Vide* Manu, V. 85.
[3] Hastings, "Encyclopaedia," Vol. 10, p. 486.
[4] *Vide* Manu, V. 5-6.

prevent the pollution of the house, were thrown out through the *confluvium*. A slave could not touch him, and only a freeman was allowed to cut his hair.[1] He could be shaved only with a bronze[2] razor." [3] Again, some of these taboos were originally applied to the Flamen Martiales order of priesthood.[3]

Again, the purification of the newly-born babe was necessary. Moreover there were taboos on women on particular occasions, and on iron as mentioned above. In Roman public and private rituals there were distinct survivals of some of the taboos. A stranger was dangerous, it survived in Roman ritual. Again, the notion of taboo affected certain places, *viz.*, the place where a corpse was deposited was a taboo. Further, the notion of taboo on religion affected place as well as certain times. Fowler says, " We may add times and seasons to the list of those objects—animate and inanimate, which were affected by the practice of taboo on primitive Rome." [4]

Thus we see, the ancient Romans had definite notions of purification and taboos on animals and inanimate objects. Their ideas of purification led the restrictions known as taboos, and they lived under this code of taboo. In these practices they had good many similarities with the Hindus.

Modern Undeveloped Races

The institutions of Purification leading to restrictions which are known as Taboos are to be observed also amongst the undeveloped races of the world. Amongst the Polynesians [5] there are religious, political and social taboos.[6] These taboos are " used by priests and nobles for their own ends," and they bear the stamp of class-character in them.[7] With the Polynesians every priest and every

[1] Compare the Brahmanical ordinance that the touch of a low Sudra is a pollution to a Brahman!

[2] Compare with ancient Vedic injunctions in Tatt. Brah. (1.25) where to shave with a copper razor is spoken.

[3] *Ibid.*,—*op.cit.*, p. 329.

[4] F. N. Warde Fowler " Religious Experience of the Roman People," p. 41.

[5] Dr. Craighill Handy, in his paper on *The Problem of Polynesian Origins* (Bernice P. Bishop Museum, " Occasional Papers," IX.9, points out that a social order with fourfold division existed in Polynesia. He also says), the Polynesian word " Mana " is derived from the Sanskrit root " mana," to think. Further he says, " The Polynesian *Mana* concept is distinctly the outcome of a system built about a priestly aristocracy. Of such a system the Brahman caste in India stands as one exemplification, while the Polynesian *mana* endowed *ariki* stands as another. The two are, I believe, products of divergent evolution out of a common parental social and religious system." P. 318.

But there is also another opinion that the word "*Mana*" is not derived from the Sanskrit "*Mana.*"

[6] E. Crawley, " The Mystic Rose," p. 10.

[7] *Vide* Max Schmidt, " Ethnologie " ; Freud, " Totem and Taboo."

gentleman is a taboo (sacred). Besides this, many of the present-day undeveloped races and tribes have their ideas about purification and taboo which are all based on notions on food and contact. Thus the American Indians hold that " anything placed in contact with a sacred object acquires the sacred nature of that object, and anything thus made sacred cannot be eaten or used for cooking." [1] With the Kaffirs of South Africa, " uncleanliness " is attached to mourners, enchanters and murderers. With the Melanesians, the ideas of taboo are attached to men generally. Amongst the Red Indians of Costa Rica, " two kinds of ceremonial uncleanliness are extant. In Fiji, the tabooed persons wash in a stream, then they wipe their hands on animals such as a pig or a turtle, which becomes sacred to the Chief. This act sets the man off from the taboo." Again, " amongst the Maoris, a slave entering a sacred place (Wahi tapu) had to take off his clothes first, else they would be rendered useless. " In Efate, one of the New Hebrides, there is the idea of *namin, i.e.*, ceremonial " uncleanliness." It is divided into uncleanliness of death and childbirth. In case a sacred man comes in contact with *namin* it destroys his own ' sacredness.' [1]

Thus, illustrations can be multiplied which show that the notions of purification and taboo are extant with the peoples living in various stages of social development. Their ideas of " uncleanliness " or " sacredness " underlie the notion of taboo.

II

Notions of Purification and Taboo in Hindu Society

Now let us enquire into the conditions of the Hindus. With the Hindus the ideas about the impurity of food and notions about touch or contact are to be referred as scattered in various old Sanskrit works. There the ideas of prohibitions that emanate from the notion of purification can be analysed as due to reasons which may be classified into three heads, *viz.*, (1) *Janyadosha* (fault that lies inherently in the cause itself), (2) *Sparsadosha* (fault due to touch), (3) *Drihstidosa* (fault due to sight). All ceremonialisms of purification and prohibition are necessitated from these three *dosahs* or faults. Naturally the ' faults ' and their purifications, *i.e.*, penances and protection, *i.e.*, taboos are religious, social and sexual. (But in the last analysis they can be summed up into taboos regarding food and contact.)

[1] Crawley, " The Mystic Rose," pp. 80; 61-85.

The Manava Code forbids the eating of onion,[1] garlic, mushroom, some edible roots and a special kind of vegetable to the upper three classes (5.5). Also, the red coloured liquid that comes out of some trees and gets hardened, the hardened milk of a milch-cow that has delivered her calf for ten days only, are to be rejected by a Brahmán (5.6). Again, the milk of those animals that can be drunk, should not be taken unless they have passed ten days after their delivery; the milk of camel, the milk of one-hoofed animals such as horse, the milk of ewe, the milk of the cow whose calf is away or dead, should not be taken (5.8). The milk of forest animals with the exception of buffalo should not be drunk. Woman's breast milk is also not to be taken (5.9).

The flesh of carnivorous birds like kite, domesticated birds like pigeon, one-hoofed animals (excepting those sacrificed in Yajna) like ass should not be eaten (5.11). Likewise, fish should not be eaten (5.15).

These are some of the religious prohibitions or taboos. Then we come to the social one. " If a boy dies after cutting his teeth, or after having performed the ceremony of wearing the sacred thread (*upanayana*), then his kinsmen become impure. In the case of birth also the same impurity takes place " (5.58). " As people become impure (*Asuchi*) in the case of the death of a kinsman, they likewise become impure in the case of birth as well " (5.61). " In the case of the death of the teacher, the disciple becomes impure for three nights, in the case of the death of the son or wife of the teacher, the disciple becomes impure only for a day and a night " (5.80). " In the case of contact by touch with a Chandala, a woman in her menses, a man degraded for killing a Brahman, a new born babe of ten days, a corpse, and he who has touched a corpse, one will be purified after a bath " (5.85). Again, " if the *dwija* classes touch fresh man's bone, then they will be purified after a bath; in case they touch dry bones, then they will be purified by touching a cow or by seeing the sun after rinsing the mouth " (5.84). These are some of the social prohibitions or taboos.

Now, we come to the third set of taboos, *i.e.*, prohibitions, regarding sex matters. " If abortion takes place in a woman within the period of three to six months of her *enciente* state, she will become impure for the same number of months. A menstruated woman will be pure to do religious work after five days, but after three nights will

[1] It seems onion and leek were also abominations with the ancient Egyptians. *Vide* " The Satires of Juvenal," XV, 1 ff, quoted in Moret's " The Nile and Egyptian Civilization," p. 366.

be pure to be received by her husband " (5.66). " Mixed class (*jati*) born of women of higher Varnas by lower Varnas are not to receive their last sacrificial oblation " (5.86). " Those women who follow non-Vedic, *i.e.*, heretic religion, give themselves up to many men, who commit abortions, kill their husbands, and those women of the *dwija* classes who drink, all these do not get their last oblation rites " (5.90). " A woman should not procreate a child by *mesalliance* ; in that case she will be defamed in this world and in the next world she will not attain heaven through that son " (5.161). " The son procreated by a woman with a man who is not her husband by a method other than *Niyoga* (Levirate ?) is neither her son nor that of the man. Therefore, all women of good characters are ordained not to have a second husband " (5.162). If a wife leaves the husband of her own Varna and takes a man of the higher class as her husband, she becomes blamable in this world and everybody says she had a husband before " (5.163). " A woman by becoming unfaithful to her husband, degrades her husband, takes next birth as a jackal and becomes very sick being attacked with leprosy and such like serious diseases " (5. 168).

These are some of the sex taboos. Besides these, there are other taboos in connection with the above-mentioned list. These are in the *mores* of the people. We have said that all these prohibitions can be resolved into two forms that of food and contact. As regards the prohibitions in these lines there number is legion. The Puranas elaborately describe the merits and sins attached to the use of various food [1] and contact with men. It seems the Gupta period in which the Puranas are supposed to have received their last recension is the epoch in which the regulations and prohibitions regarding ' clean ' and ' unclean ' things and persons have taken their definite forms. And this has been the age of Feudalism. It is the age when the pride of birth and blood, class and claim of hereditary privileges have taken their final shape in the Hindu polity which have produced the questions of a ' clean caste,' ' untouchable caste,' ' untouchability,' etc., in Brahmanism.

The *mores* of taboo is universal in humanity, and we have seen that it is to be found amongst various races in their course of evolution. Also we have seen that the Indo-European races have also passed through that stage as well. Hence the question of formation of social grouping by the force of *Mana* or by some other mystic spirit cannot

[1] It seems the question of food taboo has given rise to the questions of " uncooked (*kaccha*) food " and " cooked (*pucca*) food " amongst the Hindus.

be entertained in the case of the Hindu society. We know that the spirit of taboo comes from the force of class-struggle as attested in the case of the Polynesians. When the upper classes proclaim certain things as taboos, the spirit of class arrogance and superiority lurk in the background. The upper classes in order to safeguard their privileges and to pose themselves as superior to the rest of the community, hedge themselves with lots of purificatory rites and prohibitions.

If we analyse the sources of the prohibitive laws of the Hindus we find that the eating of onion, garlic, mushroom, etc., that are prohibited to the upper three classes may have its origin in the first category of prohibition, *i.e.*, the fault lies in the cause itself (*i.e.*, with the origin of the thing itself). The commentator Kulluka Bhatta,[1] in a way of explanation says, the roots and vegetables grow in dirty places and fertilized by dirty things, hence they cannot be eaten by the *dwijas*, but those are not forbidden to the Sudras! Here as according to the law-givers, the fault lies with the origin of the things, hence they are tabooed. On the contrary, the class-character of this injunction is clearly seen when these are allowed as edibles for the Sudras.

Then we come to the fault of the second category, *i.e.*, the fault that arises due to sight. It is a universal phenomenon, everywhere the curse of " evil eye " is a known superstition. The fountain head of Brahmanism, Manava Code, does not mention it. But it is mentioned in a latter day book, " Padma-Purana " (1. 13. 399-400), which says " eat in a way that people cannot see your food or drink, and regard equally pleasant and unpleasant things. This is the way to eat. You should do that." In the case of members of undeveloped societies the acts of eating and drinking are regarded as the sources of transmission of the properties of the persons concerned. Hence in those societies people eat alone and in private.

The custom of eating in silence is also to be found amongst the Ahts, the Maoris and the Siamese.[2] In this way one tries to be free from harmful properties that may be transmitted to him from outside during eating. By this method he tries to save himself from outside influences and keep his own individuality. Thus he tries to rise above others ; and in the case of avoiding the sight of the men of inferior classes and of the Sudras in Hindu society, the idea of receiving the evil properties of the lower sort of peoples to one-self is

1 *Vide* commentary of Kulluka Bhatta on aphorism 5. 5 of Manu.
2 Crawley, " The Mystic Rose," p. 129.

implied. Hence, in the case of eating alone the assertion of class superiority underlies good many cases.

Then we consider the third category of fault, *i.e.*, the fault arising out of touch. Manava Code ordains a bath as the means of purification in case one touches a Chandala (5. 185). This is the penance for touching an "outcaste." The outcaste Chandala had been a taboo with the Brahmanas even in post-Vedic days.[1] But the Padma-Purana says, "Brahmana narrates, the man who dies with the food of a Sudra in his stomach, becomes a ghost (*pretajoni*)....He who officiates as a priest to undesirable persons, leaves his *clientele* (*Yajamana*) and serves the Sudras he becomes a ghost, he who is attached to the cooking of the Sudra becomes "ghost."[2] Again, it narrates, "Kasyapa says, you have become degraded by being in company with the Chandalas though born in a Brahmana family ; your ancestors must be living in Hell."[3] Also this Purana speaks of the Mlecchas to be as untouchables when it narrates the conversation between Kasyapa Muni and the divine bird Garuda, thus it says, "Then Kasyapa Muni being afraid of getting the sin for killing a Brahmana said to Garuda, 'You along with the Brahmana vomit the Mlecchas all around.' The king of birds Garuda, hearing the order of his father and understanding his fault, vomited the Brahmana along with the Mlecchas in various forests and mountains. . . . In this way the Mlecchas got different names and lived in different places. One has to bathe along with his clothes if he touches them. But alas in this evil Kali Juga, people for the sake of gain are keeping themselves in touch with these Mlecchas who live in countries devoid of religion."[4]

In this story we notice two phenomena: one commits sin if he puts the Brahman in his stomach, *i.e.*, the sin of killing a man of superior class will fall on a man of lower order, because the contact with the qualities of a man of superior order is unbearable to a man of inferior order. It means, a sin is committed in killing a man of superior class. And, we find that the Mlecchas have been still further degraded in the Puranas. In Manu and in Patanjali we find the Sakas and the Javanas classed as Sudras and above the so-called untouchable Varnas. But in this book the name of the bearded, horse-riding, beef-eating *Turuskas* (Turks)[5] are mentioned as one group

1 *Vide* Fick, "Sociale Gliederung."
2 Padma-Purana, I, 32, 47-50. 3 *Ibid.*, I, 47, 59-60. 4 *Ibid.*, I, 47, 67-75.
5 This internal evidence attests that the Padma-Purana was written at a very late date when the Mahomedan Turks appeared on the horizon of India. This, again, attests the

of the Mlecchas [1] and their touch is regarded as more polluting than the Chandalas as we see in the differences of penances ordained in both the texts ! Thus it is evident that this injunction was formulated at the period when the Turks came to be known to the Hindus and the struggle with the Central Asiatic hordes had been intense. It is clear that the prejudice of the upper classes of the Hindus against the foreigners gave rise to this ordinance. Then, this text gives a list of objects whose touch is regarded as impure, *viz.*, an outcaste, a leper, a Chandala, a beef-eater, a dog, a woman in her menstrual period, a *Villa* (Bhil). And it ordains that by bath one would be cleaned of their impurity. [2] The idea of impurity arising out of contact implying also touch with certain kinds of edibles is further elaborated in the rules of conduct ordained in this text when it says, " One should not eat dried fish, putrefied things, unholy things, the remnant of the food eaten by others [3] or food cooked for another. Never shall one even for a moment keep the company of a dishonest man nor shall travel with him.....one shall not talk with an untouchable, an outcaste and an angry person." [4] Here, we see that the touch of certain animate and inanimate objects have been tabooed. In this case, the taboos regarding diatetics and social conduct have been put together. On the other hand, the eating of certain fruits as Amalaki (Myrobalan) is considered as meritorious.[5]

By enquiry into the habits of the Buddhists we find that they also entertained some notions about clean and unclean things. The Chinese Buddhist monk I-tsing who travelled in India in post-Gupta period observed the following customs of the Buddhists of India which he recorded in his book.[6]

In perusing this book we find the following: That the Buddhists had prohibitive rules in the matter of approaching the holy places. " That one should not walk round the holy stupa with sandals on was taught expressly from the beginning.....And it has been proclaimed that a priest must not approach the temple with his slippers on " (Ch. II).

fact why this Purana emphasizes ' clean ' and ' unclean ' things and persons in such strong terms.

[1] Padma Purana, I. 47, 72. [2] *Ibid.*, I, 48, 32.

[3] This probably gives rise to the modern custom of *Jhuta* (tasted food) with the Hindus. The Buddhist also had similar notion—*Vide* I-tsing, Ch.IV.

[4] Padma Purana, I, 49, 108-110. [5] *Ibid.*, I, 60, 2.

[6] I-tsing, " A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Peninsula " (671-95 A.D.), translated by I. Takakasa, 1896.

Then, there were rules of purity to be observed at the dining place. "In India the priests wash their hands and feet before meals, and sit on separate small chairs.....The chairs are ranged at intervals of one cubit, so that the persons sitting on them do not touch one another.....to preserve what has been left from the meals..... is not at all in accordance with the Indian rules.....By being gathered from the table, the food pollutes the trays, and those who serve touch the clean utensils. Thus making the preservation of purity vain" (Ch. III).

Again, the Buddhists had notions about clean food. "Among the priests and laymen in India it is customary to distinguish between clean and unclean food. If but a mouthful of food have been eaten, it becomes unclean, and the utensils in which food was put are not to be used again.....It is not also proper to touch each other while eating at the place of invitation or general dinner.....This is the custom among both rich and poor, and is not only a custom observed by us, but *even by the Brahmans.*" After eating, "if any one touches another before rinsing the mouth, then the latter has to rinse his mouth as well" (Ch. IV).

In the case of invitation of the Vikshus by the laity (upavasthaday) the author further says "Each priest sits on a small chair..... it is not wrong, however, to use eathenware utensils once, if they have not been used before.....wooden articles are scarcely ever employed as eating utensils, yet, if new, they may be used once, but never twice, this being prohibited in the Vinaya" (Ch. IX).

Then the traveller describes the food edible for the Buddhists. He says, "Panchabhoganiam and Panchakhadaniyam are often mentioned in the Vinaya.....The five *Bhoganiyas* are (1) rice, (2) a boiled mixture of barley and peas, (3) baked corn of flour (bread ?), (4) meat,[1] (5) cake. The five *Khadaniyam* are (1) roots, (2) stalks, (3) leaves, (4) flowers, (5) fruits.....we may regard milk, cream, etc., as blends the two groups of the five mentioned above." Then he says, "None of the people of all the five parts of India eat any kind of onions (onions are forbidden in Kulluka, V, 34. 1) or raw vegetables" (Ch. IX).

Then, there are rules for bodily cleanliness as the author describes, "Having been to lavatory, one becomes impure, and a purification of

[1] Three kinds of pure meat are allowed to the Buddhists (Mahavagga, VI, 31).

one's body, hands and mouth is necessary, so too when one's body or garments have become impure, stained by anything such as saliva, mucus " (Ch. XVII).

The evidences given by the Chinese traveller bear testimony to the fact that the Buddhist also had definite notions regarding food and touch restrictions, and some of them agree with the Brahmanical rules. The Vinaya text contains strict rules of conduct. These restrictions evince that the food and contact taboos were in the *mores* of the Indian people ; they were not particular inventions of the Brahmanical priesthood as Mana or mystic power to charm the people for exploitation. The origin of these taboos must lie in the period when there was neither Brahmanical nor Buddhist priestly exhortions to the laity to follow their injuctions. These taboos must have been the common *mores* of the Indian people.

The sociologists speak of *Totem* in connection with the institution of taboo. Some of the taboos are derived from totemistic prohibitions. Various undeveloped races of the world derive their taboos from their totemistic cults. The so-called aboriginal tribes of India have their totems with their accompanying taboos as well. But coming in contact with Hinduism they drop their totemistic faiths but retain the taboos derived from them as these are already ingrained in their *mores*.[1] Thus, many of their prohibitive laws are the taboos of older days.

It has been said that the Indo-European and Semitic races never have had any totemistic stage of developement. But recent researches are finding out the traces of the same amongst these people. Now a days, it is being found out that the Indo-European and Semitic speaking peoples were not immune from the phenomena of " totem " and " taboo." Freud says, " Many traces and survivals otherwise hard to interpret lead to the conclusion that totemism once existed amongst the aboriginal Aryan and Semitic races of Europe, so that many investigators are inclined to recognise in totemism a necessary phase of human development through which every race has passed." [2]

As regards the prevalence of totemism amongst the Indo-European races of ancient Europe, Warde Fowler says, "About Totemism all I have to say is this. . . . . Dr. Jevons following in the steps of

[1] B. N. Datta, " Traces of Totemism in some Tribes and Caste of North-Eastern India " in *Man in India*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 2 and 3.
[2] S. Freud, " Totem and Taboo," p. 5.

Robertson Smith found plenty of totemistic survivals both in Greece and Italy in writing his valuable Introduction to the History of Religion."[1]

The ancient Celts had their totemistic beliefs as well. "The sea, rivers, wells, mountains, trees, sun, moon, stars and winds or the spirit of those were worshipped invoked in magic runes—Manannan, the sea god, was first the sea itself, and an animistic view of the sea prevailed." "Tree worship is associated with the cult of the oak." Then there were animals cult, "The cult of animals originated in the period when men worshipped the animals which they hunted or reared." Then, the cult of animal gave place to anthropomorphic diversities of animals." Thus, "certain data point to the existence of totemism among the Celts or of conditions out of which totemism was elsewhere developed . . . . These are: (*a*) tabued animal, (*b*) animal sacraments, (*c*) animal descent, (*d*) exogamy."[2]

Now, we come to Aryan India. The Indologists in general do not talk of any trace of totemism in the Vedas, yet some suspicion has been aroused in the minds of some like Hopkins, Oldenburg and Macdonell. The former says, "Even totemism as a survival may be suspected in the 'fish' and 'dog' peoples of the Rig Veda, as has recently been suggested by Oldenburg."[3] Again, he says, "The famous (totemistic) tortoise legend was originally Brahmans."[4] Again, Macdonell and Keith say, "The Matsas (fishes) were probably Aryan."[5] Further Macdonell says, "Plants (in the Vedas) are frequently invoked as divinities chiefly in enumerations along with waters, rivers, mountains, heaven and earth. One entire hymn (Rigveda, 9.7) is, however, devoted to the praise of plants (*Oshadhi*) alone, mainly in regard to their healing powers. Later Vedic texts mention offerings made to plants and the adoration paid to large trees passed in marriage procession."[6] In this connection one should not forget the adoration made to King Soma and the deification of the same plant. One should suspect a trace of totemism in the deification of the plants, trees, rivers and animals as Freud along with the ethnologists defines a "totem" as

1 W. Warde Fowler, "The Religious Experiences of the Roman People," p. 26.
2 Hastings "Encyclopaedia," "Celts," Vol. 4, pp. 295-97.
3 E. W. Hopkins, "The Religions of India," pp. 430, 537.
4 *Ibid., op. cit.*, p. 430.
5 Macdonell and Keith, "Vedic Index," Vol. I, p. 378.
6 A. A. Macdonell, "History of Sanskrit Literature," p. 111.

made not only out of an animal but also plant or forces of nature, *viz* , rain and water as well.[1]

Of course no clear trace of totemism is to be found in the Vedas as other characteristics of totemism are not present there. But one should not forget that the Vedas speak of a people who were comparatively in advanced stage of social organization. Zimmer speaks of the Vedas as depicting the youth of the Vedic Aryans. Hence, it is not possible to trace the primaeval institutions *in toto* in the Vedas.

Further, with the discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro the vista of prehistoric India has been opened before our eyes. There, the investigators find " the traces of tree and animal worship and suspect that a certain form of animal taboo had been prevalent."[2] Of course, no clear trace of totemism has been found in these remains.

Thus by a comparative study of the condition of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity we find that totemism could not have been unknown to them. If the structure on which totemism had developed has disappeared, some of the functions do remain by which one can trace the source. Hence some of the restrictions and injunctions which seem to have got religious and social sanctions may have been the taboo that arose out of those totemistic influences. Hence, the notions of prohibitions and restrictions are not peculiar to the Indo-Aryan or to the modern Hindu, nor did these originate from outside influence. These taboos leading to religious, social and sex restrictions known as Hindu " caste rules " are not the peculiar product of India or have arisen out of pre-existing conditions. These are the product of the *mores* of the Indo-European race on the Indian soil and have taken their forms according to the socio-economic conditions of the epochs of History. Truly Eggling says, " Evidence has been steadily accumulating of the existence of restrictions to inter-marriage, and to the right of eating together (commensality) among other Aryan tribes, Greeks, Germans,[3] Russians and so on. Even without the fact of the existence now of such restrictions among the modern successors of the ancient Aryans in India, it would have been probable that they also

1 S. Freud, *op. cit.*, pp 3-4.
2 Sir J. Marshall, " Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization," Vol. I, pp. 65-74.
3 Compare the " Religious Gilds and the Gilds of Kalender " in Medieval Germany, *vide* Brentano " On the History and Development of Gilds and the Origins of Trade Unions," Pt. I, also Wilda, " Das Gildewesen in Mittelalter."

were addicted to similar customs. Rules of endogamy and exogamy, privileges restricted to certain classes, of eating together, are not only Indian or Aryan, but *world-wide phenomena*. Both the spirit, and, to a large degree, the actual details of modern Indian caste-usages are identical with those ancient and, no doubt, universal customs."[1]

[1] H. D. Eggeling; "Hastings "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics." Quoted in *Man in India*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, p. 98.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE BOARD AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND AND WALES FROM 1870 TO 1926

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I

PRIOR to Forster's education Act of 1870 education of the poorer classes in England and Wales was entrusted to the Voluntary Schools. The Education Act of 1870 created Board Schools. In addition it recognized the educational function of the Voluntary Schools as well. Thus we see two distinct types of schools carrying on educational activities for the poorer classes in England and Wales. It is also noticeable that the Conservative Party always supported the Voluntary Schools, on the other hand, the Liberal Party created the Board Schools in 1870 by passing Forster's Elementary Education Bill, and always supported the cause of the Board Schools.

It is the purpose of this article to trace the growth of these two types of schools and the various attempts of the Conservative and Liberal Parties to further the interests of the respective schools.

The period of progress of these two distinct types of schools is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the partition period, up to Balfour's Education Act of 1902, when the Voluntary Schools were brought under public control. This partition period is marked by keen competition between the Voluntary Schools and the Board Schools. These periods also saw the attempts of the Conservative Party to help the Voluntary schools by means of passing various Parliamentary measures.

The next period deals with the growth of these two types of schools, after Balfour's Acts of 1902 to 1926. During this period the Board Schools, also called the Council Schools, surpassed the Voluntary Schools in accommodation.

As to the number of the Board Schools, as the graph indicates, this has increased steadily. The Voluntary Schools have decreased in number since 1900, but they still are leading so far as the number of schools are concerned.

It is evident then that the Voluntary Schools are still leading in the number of schools, while the Board Schools are now leading in the number of accommodations. The reason for this may be that the Board Schools have modern buildings with a larger accommodation, while the Voluntary Schools are handicapped financially and have not found it possible to build up-to-date modern buildings with a larger accommodation.

The second period also saw various attempts of the Liberal Party to capture the Voluntary Schools, though their attempt failed and there still exists in England and Wales two types of schools, *viz.*, the Voluntary or non-provided Schools, and the Council or provided Schools.

When the Liberals failed to capture the Voluntary Schools, they brought in various Reform Acts. In 1917 they passed the Fisher Education Act which extended the school period and education became very costly. This made it impossible for the Voluntary Schools to give post-elementary education on account of costs incident to new buildings. This has placed the Board Schools in a position advantageous to the masses, and accounts for their growth.

Forster's Education Bill of 1870

Before the introduction of Forster's Education Bill in 1870, "Education" in England was thought to be a matter of private enterprise. Everywhere in England among the upper classes "Education" was thought to be no business of the State. The State did little to take responsibility for the education of the people. As a matter of fact in England education was rather an affair of the Church. Various societies were organized to conduct schools for the training of the children of the labouring classes. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was organized in 1699 to conduct schools in England and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1701, to carry educational activities into the British overseas settlements. Both of these organizations did much for the training of the poorer boys and girls, and they also supplied them with clothing. The training given was in reading, writing, spelling, counting, in cleanliness, in proper behaviour, sewing, knitting, and also in the rules and principles of the Christian religion as practised and taught in the Church of England. The Sunday School

Movement, the Ragged School, Infant School, and Monitorial School System facilitated further the education of the children of the poor classes in England in the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries. As for the children of the upper classes, they were taught at home under the direction of private tutors.

Such was the educational situation in England when Mr. Forster brought his " Elementary Education Bill " of 1870 before Parliament.[1] Up to this time the Government depended upon the principle of State aid to voluntary educational agencies.

The Act of 1833 established the principle of national aid to elementary education, and the Act of 1839 established the principle of State supervision over elementary education.

Mr. Forster, upon introducting his bill in 1870, estimated that nearly 1,500,000 children were receiving education in the State-aided schools. Of those between six and ten, about 700,000 children have been helped, but almost 1,000,000 children were left without help towards getting a schooling. Those between ten and twelve, 250,000 were aided but a least 500,000 were not provided for. In the great manufacturing centres hundreds of children grew up in ignorance. In Liverpool it was estimated that about 20,000 children out of 80,000 received no schooling. In Manchester 16,000 out of 65,000 received no education. In London the condition was worse. " Where state help has been most wanted," said Mr. Forster, " state help has been least given."[2] Revelations of this state of things struck horror into the minds of Mr. Foster and it is to remedy this deficiency in education that Mr. Forster introduced his famous Bill of 1870, during the ministry of Mr. Gladstone.

The electoral reforms of 1868, followed by the liberal majorities, made the reopening of the education question in Parliament possible. So on the 17th of February, 1870, Mr. Forster presented his Bill to the House of Commons. The Bill aimed at, to use the language of Mr. Forster, " to complete the voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming as

[1] Parker, History of Modern Elementary Education, pp. 237-38.
Education Debate of 1870 (Published by National Union). Birchenough, History of Elementary Education, p. 123.

much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbors."[1]

The home and the church were thought to be the educational agencies at this time, and it is interesting to note Mr. Forster's attitude towards these two conflicting parties. Monroe[1] describes the attitude of Mr. Forster thus:

"It is clear that Forster's mind wavered between two different conceptions of public elementary education. Was it to be a great structure of educational discipline regulated by the state with the aid of local authorities, providing the basis for secondary and technical education, and closely related at all points to those other branches of the public service concerned in social welfare? or was it to be, in the main, an eleemosynary work, conducted in great measure by the churches, maintained partly from the voluntary subscriptions of the benevolent, with the aid of enlarged grants from the state and supplemented by subsidies from local rates, but content with a somewhat lower standard of attainment, and shorn of costly ambitions to branch out into secondary and higher education?

The bill was a compromise between these two views. The aid of the religious bodies and of the benevolent subscriber was still indispensable to success while the opposition of the church would have been fatal to the parliamentary prospect of the measure, if not in the House of Commons, certainly in the House of Lords. But Mr. Forster's hesitancy between these two ideals lay deep in his political consciousness. On the one side he was drawn toward bold state action. On the oter side he was attracted by the generosity of the religious bodies and by the varied charities of private benevolence.

Probably the hidden cause which produced this hesitancy between two conflicting ideals was his profound belief in the necessity of religious influences in the national education. He foresaw that any elaborate state organization of schools would inevitably tend to secularization. On the other hand, he perceived that voluntary denominational effort had completely failed to grapple with educational destitution and must therefore be supplemented by state action, combined with the effort of local authorities.

He stood midway between the advocates of universal public control and the friends of voluntary enterprise. He was a link between

[1] Monroe, Cyclopedia of Education, p. 649.

the two conflicting ideals. He was mediator between the two opposing forces in national life. He was a democrat but not a secularist ; an ardent supporter of religious influences in education but at the same time a believer in the positivity of united Christian teaching, the spirit of which would transcend denominational difficulties."[1]

Mr. Forster's Bill of 1870 became the subject of a battle between the non-conformists and the members of Birmingham League on the one side, and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Forster and their colleagues on the other. The non-conformists found in this Bill an excuse for attacking Established Church of England, The whole parliamentary debate was characterized by the religious and political discussions. The conscience clause offered the non-conformists a clue to attack the established church of England. The non-conformists became intolerant of religious instruction in the public elementary schools. No religious doctrines, or anything of the sort, they argued, could be taught in the public schools. They would not tolerate any extension of the denominational school. They violently objected to the support of denominational schools out of local rates ; they even objected to the 50 per cent grant to the denominational schools from the national exchequer. The non-conformists protested also against the Board's having power to frame byelaws because they were afraid lest the Board would enforce religious dogmas on the unwilling pupils. They attacked the permissive nature of the compulsory attendance clause, also.

Changes in the Bill: Mr. Gladstone's Concessions

On going into committee Mr. Gladstone at once announced some important concessions. The most important was the acceptance of Mr. Cowper-Temple's amendment which provided (1) that no catechism or formulary distinctive of any denominational creed should be taught in any board school, and that (2) no voluntary school should receive assistance from the rates. To soften the blow to the latter the State grant to all schools, board or voluntary, was increased from a third to a half. At the same time the conscience clause was strengthened by the introduction of the "time-table" clause which, by making religious instruction the first lesson of the day, rendered it easier for parents to withdraw

[1] Monroe, Cyclopedia of Education, pp. 649-50.

or rather to withhold children from such instruction. The age of compulsory education was raised from 12 to 13 and the principle of direct election by the ratepayers was substituted for indirect election by town council and vestry.

Mr. Lowe aptly compared the attitude of extremists on both sides to that of a fine herd of cattle in a large meadow deserting the rich grass which is abundant around them, and delighting themselves by fighting over a bed of nettles in one corner of the field.[1]

Three fundamental principles were carried into effect for the first time in English public education by the Act of 1870. These are:

1. Compulsory local rate;
2. One representative local authority;
3. The compulsory attendance of children at school.[2]

This law established a dual system of public elementary schools—one, the voluntary school, and the other, a rate-founded or non-voluntary school. This law did not complete the secularization of schools sharing public funds but the battle for secularization continued down to the present time.[3]

The history of elementary education in England after 1870 falls into two distinct periods. The years from 1870 to 1902 are sometimes referred to as the partition period, and the years following that, the annexation period.

The Education Act of 1870 created the board schools supported by the local rates ; besides it left the voluntary schools to carry on the educational activities. In this chapter we shall try to review how these two types of schools carried on the educational activities, not only in England but in Wales as well.

Education during the partition period was characterized by religious and political strife. It will also be seen that the Conservative party always supported the voluntary school system and looked upon education as the function of the church. The Liberals, on the other hand, looked upon education as the function of the State and thought the State School system the best instrument to improve the welfare of the people. Thus, we see during the period from 1870 to 1902 that a dual school system existed in England and Wales, and

1 Marriott, History of England since Waterloo, p. 402.
2 Parker, History of Modern Elementary Education, p. 238.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 239.

whenever any of these two rival parties happened to be in power it missed no chance to further the progress of the particular system which the party favoured. The Liberal party, however, did not bear any grudge towards religious instruction in any type of school. They simply aimed at safeguarding the interests of those parents who did not wish their children given any religious instruction, by the amendment of the Cowper-Temple conscience clause in the Education Act of 1870. It was only the non-conformists section of the Liberal party that bore an undying hostility to the voluntary schools and left no stone unturned to harm the Anglican church whenever opportunity arose. All these political and religious struggles are clearly perceptible in the parliamentary debates of any education bill introduced during the period 1870 to 1902.

It is also clearly noticeable that both the Conservative and the Liberal party did not wish the idea that the poorer classes should receive secondary or university education. They also alike hated the bureaucratic school system. They championed local initiative and liberty in their school bills, which are the essentials characteristic of the English race.

The partition period also saw the beginning of the reactionary movement against the rigid and narrow school curricula. This period also saw the extension of the elementary school age both upward and downward. Various types of industrial schools and schools for defective, blind, and epileptic children sprang up during this period. Education as a "preparation for the church" gave way before the goal of education as a preparation for citizenship.

In this chapter an effort will be made to show the comparative growth of the board school and the voluntary school up to 1902. It will be shown that the board schools made much more rapid progress than the voluntary schools, though the latter still were ahead in this period. Particular emphasis will be placed on the financial resources of the voluntary and the board schools, their educational activities, the educational costs per pupil, the teachers' qualifications, their salaries and curricula.

Comparative Growth of Voluntary and Board Schools

In 1873 the voluntary schools numbered 10,574, with an average attendance of 1,412,497. (95·26 p.c. of the total) and in 1883 the

voluntary schools numbered 14,491, with an enrolment of 2,874,643 (67·25 p.c.) The Board Schools in 1873 numbered 520, with an average attendance of 69,983 (4·74%) and in 1883 they rose to 4,049, with an enrolment of 1,398,661 (32·75%). In 1893 the voluntary schools numbered 14,710, with an enrolment of 3,041,679 (59%) and in 1903 the number of the voluntary schools rose to 14,082, with an enrolment of 3,053,892 (50·89%). In 1893 the Board Schools numbered 4,972, with an enrolment of 2,111,863 and in 1903 the number of Board Schools increased to 6,145, with an enrolment of 2,946,511, (49·11%).

Financial Strength of Voluntary and Board Schools

From the standpoint of financial resources, the Board Schools are in an advantageous position, when compared to the voluntary schools. From 1873 to 1893 the voluntary schools were financially better than the Board Schools, but in 1902 the Board Schools surpassed the voluntary schools financially. From 1873 to 1883 both the voluntary schools and the Board Schools received larger percentages of their income from local sources than the Government grant, but from 1893 their income from the governmental grants surpassed their income from local sources. In 1902 the voluntary school income from the Government grant increased to 78 per cent, but the Board School income from the Government grants decreased from 56·08% in 1893 to 50·01. It is interesting to note that as the Government grant increases, the local grant decreases correspondingly.

Voluntary School Grants[1]

	Government	p.c.	Local	p.c.
1873	759,203	(36·70)	1,309,923	(63·30)
1883	1,620,878	(43·87)	2,074,669	(56·13)
1893	3,176,227	(71·02)	1,296,617	(28·98)
1902	4,502,723	(78·00)	1,270,470	(22·00)

[1] Anna Tolman, Bulletin Roll, 1906, p.13 (Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education).

BOARD SCHOOL GRANTS[1]

	Government	p.c.	Local	p.c.
1873	12,868	(13·28)	84,051	(86·72)
1883	771,950	(36·17)	1,362,284	(63·83)
1893	2,306,567	(56·08)	1,806,646	(43·92)
1902	3,558,495	(50·01)	3,558,143	(49·09)

AVERAGE INCOME PER SCHOLAR TOWARDS MAINTENANCE IN VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS

In 1870 the voluntary schools received 8*s* 10*d* from the Government grant and 16*s* 7*d* from the local sources, thus totalling £1 5*s* 5*d*.

In 1880 the voluntary schools received 14*s* 4*d* from the Government grant and 19*s* 10*d* from local sources, thus making the total £1 14*s* 5*d*.

In 1890 the income of the voluntary schools from the Government grant was 17*s* 6*d* and 19*s* 6*d* from the local sources, thus making the total £1 17*s*.

In 1902 the voluntary schools derived an income of £1 15*s* 5*d* from the Government grant and 10*s* from the local sources, thus the total income being £2 5*s* 5*d*.[1]

AVERAGE INCOME PER SCHOLAR TOWARDS MAINTENANCE IN BOARD SCHOOLS

In 1872 the Board Schools received 8*s* 10*d* from the Govenment and 19*s* 8*d* from the local sources, thus with a total of £1 8*s* 6*d* average income per scholar.

1890 the Board Schools received 13*s* 10*d* from the Government and £1 8*s* 2*d* from the local sources, thus with a total income of £2 2*s* 10*d*.

In 1890 the Board Schools received 18*s* 7*d* per scholar from the Government grant and £1 7*s* 5*d* from the local sources, thus with a total of £2 6*s* per scholar.

In 1902 the Board Schools received £1 10*s* 8*d* from the Government grant and £1 10*s* 1*d* from the local sources, with a total income of £3 9*d* per scholar.

[1] Anna Tolman, Bulletin No. 1, 1906, p. 13, Table II.
[2] Statistics of Public and Elementary Schools and Training Courses, p. 70, Table 26.

By comparing the income of the voluntary and the Board Schools we find that the former receives more money from the Government grant and derives less income from the local sources. The Board Schools derive less income from the Govenment grant and more from the local sources. On the whole the average income per scholar for the Board Schools is higher than that of the voluntary schools.[1]

Average Expenditure (on Maintenance) per Scholar in Average Attendance

In 1872 the voluntary schools spent £1 7*s* 5*d* per scholar in average attendance. The Board Schools spent £1 8*s* 4*d*.

1890 the voluntary schools spent £1 14*s* 8*d* per scholar in average attendence. The Board Schools spent £2 2*s* per scholar in average attendance.

In 1902 the voluntary schools spent £2 6*s* 4*d* per scholar in average attendance and the Board Schools spent £3 9*d* per scholar in average attendance. Thus we see the Board Schools spent more money per scholar in average attendance than the voluntary schools.

We noticed before that the average income per scholar towards maintenance in voluntary schools was £2 5*s* 5*d* in 1902, while the expenditure per scholar £2 6*s* 4*d* in the same year, on the other hand, both the income and the expenditure per scholar in average attendance for the Board Schools were the same, *i.e.*, £3. 9*d*. Thus we see the Board Schools were financially in a better position than the voluntary schools.[2]

Salaries Certified Teachers (Male)

The principals of the Board Schools receive higher salary than the principals of the voluntary schools

The average salary for the Board Schools principals per annum is £174 11*s* 11*d*. The average salary for the principals of the voluntary schools per annum for the following type of schools are as follows:

		Average Salary		
1.	National or Church of England	£129	12*s*	6*d*
2.	Wesleyan	£ 81	10*s*	5*d*
3.	Roman Catholic	£132	8*s*	11*d*
4.	British and other Schools	£154	19*s*	10*d*

[1] Wyman & Sons, Statistics of Public Elementary Schools and Training Colleges, 1901, p. 71, Table 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1901-02. p. 72, Table 28.

The average salary for the assistant teachers in the Board Schools is £112 18*s*, and for the voluntary schools it is £102 7*s* 8*d*.

The women teachers for both the Board and the voluntary schools receive lesser pay than the male teachers for both these types of schools.

The average salary for the female principals of the Board Schools is £125 9*s* 1*d* and the average salary for the female assistant teachers is £84 19*s* 3*d*.

The average salary for the female principals of the voluntary schools are as follows:

	£	*s*	*d*
1. National or Church of England	.	.	.
2. Wesleyan	83	19	9
3. Roman Catholic	76	9	8
4. British and other Schools	90	3	7

The average salary of the female assistant teachers in the voluntary schools are as follows:[1]

	£	*s*	*d*
1. National or Church of England	60	14	1
2. Wesleyan	62	16	6
3. Roman Catholic	58	16	11
4. British and other Schools	66	9	10

Thus we see that the Board School teachers are better paid than the teachers of the voluntary schools, and that there is every possibility of having well-trained teachers on the teaching staff of the Board Schools though sometimes competent teachers may prefer to work for the voluntary schools for religious zeal.

Courses of Instruction for Board Schools and Voluntary Schools

The voluntary schools curricula are more academic and less technical in character than the Board Schools curricula. The Board Schools

[1] Statistics of Public Elementary Schools and Training Colleges, 1901-1902, p. 44, Table 15.

curricula are more technical and less academic in character. The following are the lists of subjects that occupy a more predominant place in the curricula of the Board Schools than in the curricula of the voluntary schools:

1. Algebra. 2. English. 3. Mensuration. 4. Mechanics. 5. Science (elmentary or experimental physics and chemistry). 6. Animal Physiology. 7. Hygiene. 8. Botany or Horticulture. 9. French. 10. German. 11. Welsh. 12. Book-keeping. 13. Domestic Science. 14. Kindergarten subjects.[1]

[1] Wyman and Sons, Statistics of Public Elementary Schools and Training Colleges, 1901-02, p. 33, Table 11.

CHARACTERISATION IN BANKIM CHANDRA'S NOVELS

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II

THE form of the novel often tempts writers to describe and analyse the different aspects of the personality of their characters. After such an exhaustive analysis situations are created for bringing them out more prominently before the readers. The characters remain static and their characteristics are merely illustrated instead of being developed. They do not grow and the absence of such growth makes them mechanical and lifeless. We are not convinced of their reality. We cannot sympathise with them. They have not the flexibility of life nor its dynamic qualities.

The novelist must, however, create an atmosphere of reality about his novels. He must induce that "willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith." For the time being the reader must be transported from the actual world of experience to another, equally convincing and equally real. The inhabitants of this world of fiction must, at least, appear to be living men and women. They must delude us into a belief in their existence. To create such an impression of life it is absolutely necessary that characters should express themselves through characteristic action. They must gather shape gradually in and through the incidents o the novel. After their first appearance on the scene, the novelist must carefully build up their personality. We must know what they are before we can take any interest in their developemnt.

Very often a character, after its introduction, expresses itself through action. We witness its activities and gain therefrom a vivid picture of its inner life. The dramatic way in which Chanchal Kumari makes her first appearance leaves a deep impression on our mind. Bankim Chandra does not, however, retard the progress of action in order that he might regale us with a picturesque description of her character. Its tempo is not slowed down. On the contrary, the current of incidents moves swiftly along. The situation develops

rapidly and, through it, the character of the Rajput princess. Her sudden interest in Rajsinha's portrait and her destruction of Auranzeb's might reveal her as a youthful enthusiast eager to honour patriotism and treat with contempt all symbols of tyranny. But her confidante is not satisfied. She must probe deeper ; and, then, in the accents of a bashful maiden Chanchal Kumari confesses her preference for the hero of Rajputana.

After the first appearence of Maniklal his personality is carefully built up by the novelist. His patient endurance of pain, his firm resolve to follow his master even at the risk of life, the stratagem by which he turns the tide of the battle—we witness them in rapid succession ; and out of them emerges a man strong in fortitude, firm in determination and resourceful in crisis.

When on the broad canvas of the novel two or more characters are brought together their inner selves may be revealed through clash of personalities. Not only does one character set off another by contrast but even when no such contrast is intended their mutual interaction brings out the different aspects of their nature. In the choice of his men and women Bankim Chandra was, very often, guided by this artistic consideration and in the gradual building up of hisc haracters he utilises to the fullest extent this principle of contrast.

After masquerading as Haridasi Vaisnavi Devendra returns to his garden house and as he rests there we know from his creator the tragedy of his life. We are not, however, satisfied with mere description and analysis. Devendra must live and grow. He must have the breath of life breathed into him ; and so, his cousin, Surendra, appears. His sensual nature reveals itself as it is set off against the moral strength of his cousin. His weariness of life and his pathetic self-isolation attract our sympathy. Debendra gradually gathers shape and becomes real.

Madhavacharyya, calm, serene and self-possesed, confronts Hemchandra, strong in the strength of youth and burning with fervent patriotism. The measured language of the Guru and the wild rant of the disciple ; the determined attitude of the Sannyasin and the hesitant unstable character of the warrior-prince—how beautifully are they set off, one against the other !—and out of this conflict emerge, clearly and definitely, the figures of both Hemchandra and Madhavacharyya.

Bimala after her first appearance in the temple of Saileswar recedes into the background. Throughout the earlier episodes of the novel her past is shrouded in mystery. Neither a widow nor a wife, neither a servant nor a full-fledged member of the family, she remains, for some time at least, vague and indistinct. But as the action develops she becomes more distinct. Urged by a solicitude almost motherly for the welfare of Tilottama she approaches Abhiram Swami—and then her intellectual alertness and nimble wit flash forth in sharp contrast with the sedate wisdom of the Sannyasin. In her conversation with Tilottama, the anxiety of the girl in the first flush of love, her coyness and maidenly reserve set off beautifully the matronly gravity and affectionate nature of Bimala. The single tear she sheds when parting from her ward reveals her character more significantly than any long description or subtle analysis.

In the chamber where Jagatsinha lies unconscious Ayesha and Osman meet. Osman we can very well recognise. We know his shrewdness and generosity. It is the character of Ayesha which gains in reality as she comes into contact with her cousin. They are two figures one supplementing the other, differing very sharply in one aspect alone. Osman loves his cousin but Ayesha recoils from the very thought of such love. Thus by mutual interaction their inner selves are revealed to us.

Conscious of the hopelessness of their love Pratap and Saibalini swim far into the river to commit suicide. Pratap sinks but Saibalini falters. She thinks within herself, " Why should I die? Who is Pratap to me? I am afraid of death, I cannot die " and returns. This one touch brings out the difference in character between Pratap and Saibalini. Art here reaches the highest perfection of restraint. It suggests and reveals but does not explain. One single incident makes the character vivid and real. By contrast of personalities the fundamental difference in their outlook is dramatically revealed.

Saibalini meets Foster in the banks of *Bhima Puskarini*. She remains all a-tremble in the water and returns home later than usual. Anxious lest her husband should be offended she enters her room stealthily. Wistfully she yearns for a rebuke from her husband. Playfully she reminds him of her late arrival. She wants to rouse his interest in herself but in vain. There is no change in that impassive countenance. He lives in a world entirely different from hers. Her intensely human nature becomes more clearly defined by

contrast with the philosophic indifference of Chandrasekhar. Her drab domestic life is revealed to us. Her character gains in reality. Sometimes, again, the novelist, instead of confining himself to a group of characters, proceeds to create the environment wherein they live. And then out of this crowded scene emerge men and women who gradually gather shape and grow. The essential link between his characters and the world of his novel is thus strengthened and the characters themselves are vitalised by such intimate association with the life surging around them. Imperceptibly they become definite and imperceptibly we begin to sympathise with them. By gradual accumulation of details, their personality gathers shape. Slowly they become distinct and definite. Slowly they develop into living men and women.

Kapalkundala, the child of nature, first appears as an almost ethereal being. She is mysterious, vague and indefinite; and so Bankim Chandra proceeds to build up her character. The total absence of maidenly reserve she exhibits while meeting Nabakumar proclaims her the child of nature she undoubtedly is; but her anxiety for his safety reveals her womanly heart. Her courage and presence of mind enable her to rescue Nabakumar. She is no longer "a phantom of delight" but is fast becoming a woman of flesh and blood. Normal womanhood, however, comes very slowly to her. She lives in the world but is not of it. She does not understand its conventions and ideas. She only half understands the significance of Tantric rites with their disastrous consequences to her. And calmly she accepts her fate till she is rudely shaken into a consciousness of danger by the Adhikary. The "wise saws and modern instances" of her teacher glance off her mind without leaving any impression whatsoever. She does not understand what marriage means and has to be reminded that Durga whom she worships is the consort of Siva. Death alone has some reality for her and it is only when her guardian speaks of death that she consents to marry Nabakumar. Thus bit by bit is portrayed the complex personality of this elemental being.

When Matibibi meets Nabakumar, her self-assurance and nimble wit, her womanly curiosity and courtly manners leave a deep impression on our mind. When she learns the name of her companion her sudden restlessness rouses our curiosity. In spite, however, of her growing definiteness she still remains a creature of imagination

and so with unobtrusive art Bankim creates another scene of unconscious self-revelation. The woman in her brooks no rival and she proceeds to meet the wife of whose beauty Nabakumar has been so proud. The sweet innocent beauty of Kapalkundala transforms her entirely. She is no longer a jealous woman but a worshipper of beauty pure and simple. She adorns her rival with her jewels. Yet in this act of hers there is much more than meets the eye—just a yearning hope that Nabakumar might remember this companion of a day whenever he looks upon the ornaments. Thus slowly the complex character of Matibibi gathers shape and she becomes a woman of flesh and blood.

Chandrasekhar is an ascetic wholly absorbed in studies when he first appears before us. He does not want to marry a beautiful woman lest he should be entangled by her charms. He hesitates to marry Saibalini but at last succumbs. Thus delicately does Bankim suggest that he too is susceptible to beauty. When we meet him next he is a scholar totally absorbed in his studies. He does not find any interest in what his beautiful wife has to say. His absent-minded reply "do not return" appears almost prophetic. Yet this absent-minded scholar has his moments of weakness. He stands gazing at his sleeping wife ; and his heart goes out to her in sympathy and remorse. Thus by slight touches here and there does he grow and develop into a living personality.

Bankim does not give us a long description of Kalyani's beauty nor does he overburden us with a detailed analysis of her character. On the contrary he seems to be intent upon telling a tale of the days of old. He narrates the story of that eventful year and through the incidents themselves Kalyani grows and develops. With unobtrusive art the artist gradually reveals her inner self. The simple words of her conversation become significant with suggestions. They imperceptibly bring out her self-confidence in the presence of danger and her devotion to her family. Her escape from the robbers speaks of her resourcefulness and her earnest prayer to God, her absolute reliance on Providence. And so she gradually develops into an ideal Hindu wife.

Sometimes again characters reveal themselves through characteristic action. They are real not because the novelist builds up their personality with elaborate art but because they actively parti-

cipate in the action of the novel. The ebb and flow of incidents invest them with the dynamic qualities of life. Tempted by an indirect offer of marriage Rohini steals into the house of Krishnakanta and extracts the will. Next day Haralal appears on the scene. Rohini shows him the will but refuses to part with it. She demands from Haralal the fulfilment of his promise and on his refusal drives him away with contempt. The courage and resourcefulness which she shows in the house of Krishnakanta, her womanly trust in Haralal and the violent reaction when that trust is betrayed, her hankering for domestic happiness—they are all brought out through her participation in the action of the novel. Her very gait as she goes to *Baruni Puskarini* artfully suggests the sensuality of her nature and her response to the cooing of the *Kokil* reveals the streak of romance imbedded in her personality. In and through the incidents of the novel Rohini grows vivid and life-like.

When Sree first appears before us, she is a mere supplicant bowed down with grief and distress. But even then her dignified behaviour leaves a deep impression on our mind ; and her appeal to Sitaram for the defence of his community has a propheticring about it. Soon the scene changes. In the crisis of her brother's life, all unconscious of her surroundings, she, with a yearning desire to have a last look at her brother, sets at naught the conventions which have so long been restraining her. She is no longer a Hindu lady " sober, steadfast and demure." She is now an affectionate sister entirely forgetful of the world arround her. When the conflict begins the woman in her is completely suppressed. She stands transfigured—the spirit of revenge incarnate. The tension is, however, too much for her womanly nature ; she breaks down. When she recovers she is no longer the inspired instrument of fate. She is now a daughter of Bengal with all her submissiveness and her charming reserve. Even in her coyness there is an innate dignity, in her weakness an innate strength. She refuses to be pitied. She demands her rights and nothing else. She must share her husband's thoughts. His cares and anxieties must be hers. When Sitaram seeks to make amends she does not allow him to do so. Her husband, she holds, must not dishonour his father's memory. And then inspite of her deep love for Sitaram she leaves him in fear lest she should bring disaster on him. Thus through the action of the novel, stage by stage the different aspects of Sree's personality with its innate dignity and strength, its moments

of weakness and womanly reserve grow real to us and she herself becomes definite and life-like.

The clash of personalities, the slow gradual growth of character through accumulation of details artistically blended together, character expressing itself through characteristic action—they all serve to build up the personality of Bankim Chandra's men and women ; and thus there gathers shape before our imagination a world crowded with individuals acting and reacting one on the other, expressing themselves through action and incident—persons, flexible and dynamic like real men and women, yet differentiated from them with subtle touches of art.

JAVA IN ASIATIC HISTORY AND CULTURE

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

I

PRE-HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF JAVA

IMPORTANCE of Java in the study of Asiatic pre-history can hardly be exaggerated. As early as 1889-91 Prof. Eugene Dubois (at present Curator, Palaeontological Museum, Haarlem) was excavating, on the Trinil river, the remains of fossil mammals. In 1890 he discovered the earliest trace of fossil man associated with fossil mammals of the Pleistocene age. Later on, he changed his opinion, characterising it as "Ape Man" although later researches tend to treat the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* as really a primitive type of *man*, on account of its exceedingly large brain volume and of its erect attitude and gait. In 1909-10 a German expedition excavated at the Trinil site and confirmed the theory of Dubois that the fossil mammals found therein belonged to the Old stone age. In 1922, a new site of fossil mammals was discovered in the bed of the Glagah river near Cheribon, in western Java. These fossil-bearing sites have been systematically surveyed by the Geological Survey of the Netherlands East Indies and the latest report on the findings of the Dutch archaeologists has been furnished by Dr. G. H. R. von Koenigswald (*vide* "A Review of the Stratigraphy of Java and its Relations to Early Man"—*Early Man*, New York, 1937). We are thankful to him for his able and up-to-date monograph communicated to the symposium on the occasion of the 125th Anniversary of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia.

While Eastern and Central Java still remained submerged, Western Java, emerging out of the sea, served as the cradle of oldest mammals and in the Tji Djoelang zone have been discovered typically Siwalik fauna: hippo, pigs, antelopes, small cattle and stegodon of the primitive elephant family. This zone of Java has, therefore, been correlated with the Tatrot Zone of the Siwalik series of India. In 1936 a Javanese collector found a fossilised human skull in the Djetis Zone near Modjokerto, west of Surabaya. This *Homo modjokertensis*

is found in a layer older than that of Trinil. The Trinil Zone fossils showing stegodon and a large elephant very similar to the Indian Elephas Nomadicus may, therefore, belong to the middle Pleistocene. Remains of stegodon and elephas, discovered also in Formosa and the Philippine Islands, appear to suggest that the migration of these animals to Java was from the north to the south and that "the first pliocene migration of the *Siva-Malayan* fauna was completed by a second *Sino-Malayan* immigration." It is not unlikely that the Pithecanthropus Erectus came to Java from China with the Sino-Malayan immigration during which were added to the old Siwalik mammals, orang gibbon, tapir and Malayan bear, all appearing in the pleistocene fauna of South China. It is significant to point out in this connection the recent observation by Dr. Weidenreich (*Nature*, February, 1937) saying that the Pithecanthrupus Erectus is more advanced than Sinanthropus and that the skullcap of Trinil may even belong to a small female of the younger Solo Man. In 1935, the first series of stone implements were found in the Trinil level (*vide* Koenigswald, "Early Palaeolithic Stone Implements from Java," *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum*, Series B, No. 1, Singapore, 1936). Near the south coast of central Java, not far from Patjitan, store tools of the old Palaeolithic types were discovered on terraced surface in 1935. Here were found the same types of flakes as in the Trinil as well as true hand axes which came as a great surprise. For, the farthest eastern point at which these implements were known until now was Madras. Dr. Helmuth de Terra, however, discovered hand axes of the same type in the Narbuda Valley and in other localities in north-western India. It can therefore be expected that the stone implements from Java will make for good correlations between the Pleistocene of Java and India.

In 1931, the late Mr. C. Ter Haar of the Dutch Geological Survey discovered another rich fossil site near Njandong on the Solo river. Various fossil remains of this Solo Man, more developed than the Trinil Man, appear to show great affinities with the Rhodesia Man from South Africa and both may belong to the Neanderthal group. The stone tools of this Solo Man are crude but their bone implements are beautifully executed. The proto-Australoid Wadjak Man probably belong to an Australoid population living in Java (Sampoeng cave) in the Neolithic period.

Thus we may agree with Dr. Koenigswald when he says that the fossil mammals of Java bear close relations with those of India and

China. Cousins of the Pithecanthropus Erectus have been found near Peking in 1929-30 and near Khol-Larsen in South Africa in 1936. Relations of the Rhodesia Man, or the African type of Neanderthal Man. have also been found in Java and the stone implements too show the same wide distribution of early human cultures. Thus we are sure, to-day that the Chelleo-Acheulean hand axe cultures of England and South Africa, of Portugal, India and Java testify to the migration of the culture of Early Man over an enormous area. The relationship of the Solo Man with the Neanderthal Man has, however, been contested by Oppenoorth (vide *Early Man*, 1937) and Keith, in his *Antiquity of Man*, considers the Rhodesia Man as different from the Neanderthal Man who is characterised by stone tools while both the Solo Man and the Peking Man have bone tools as well, and the two probably represented independent cultures of the Far East which have not yet been successfully correlated with the cultures of the fossil man of Europe.

Archaeological Studies in Java

In 1935-36, Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels made the first systematic survey of the *Melanesoid Civilizations of Eastern Asia*. I regret the premature death of this pioneer whom I had the privilege of meeting in the galleries of the splendid museum of Batavia. He found evidences of a Melanesoid civilization in a rock shelter called Gua Lawa near Sampung (East Java). The bone tools discovered there have been compared by him with those found in Hoa-Binh (French Indo-China) and also with those found in the kitchen-midden of northern Annam as well as in Celebes, whence the bone culture appeared to have reached Java from the North. Thanks to his pioneer researches, there is now a trained pre-historian on the staff of the Archaeological Service of Java and we are in a position to distinguish palaeolithic the proto-neolithic and the neolithic layers of Javanese cultures. Dr. A. J. Van der Hoop by his valuable study on the *Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra* drew our attention to the fact that there are several peoples in the Archipelago whose cultures can still be characterised as megalithic. Their cults and traditions should be promptly studied before being submerged by the invading modern culture. Collaboration of foreign scholars has therefore been invited by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim the present Director of Archaeology in the Netherlands Indies (vide *Indian Art* and *Letters*, Vol XIII, pp. 90-101, 1939).

He links up the pre-historic with the historic periods of Javanese culture by characterising the next important epoch as "Hinduistic." As against the older theory that the Hindus conquered and populated Java between the first and the sixth century A.D., Dr. Sutterhein opines that the Hindus were "disseminators of their culture," towards the beginning. But they were mixed with and absorbed by the native population which transformed and adopted the new culture, following the Javanese, the Sumatran or the Balinese conceptions. He concedes, however, that "constant contact with India, perpetuated by commercial traffic in times of peace, infused an ever renewed flow of Indian elements."

The learned Director gives us valuable indications with regard to the recent activities of the Department of Archaeology. While there is little chance of discovering a second Borobudur, it is encouraging to note that more than thirty terraced sanctuaries have been discovered (1935) in jungles on Mt. Penanggungan in East Java. So, very interesting architectural specimens have been found in Central and Eastern Java, including one rare type of *stupa* so difficult to find in Eastern Java. Valuable objects of arts and crafts in wood, ivory or textiles are ruined by the humidity of the soil and only stone and metal objects and pottery could be preserved as we find from the splendid collection of the Museum of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Letters. The Society has recently been enriched by over 3,000 specimens of Chinese and Further Indian ceramics which, when systematically studied, is sure to throw valuable light on the chronology of Javanese antiquities.

The Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences

A worthy tribute to the Society has been paid by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, the retiring Director of Archaeology, who very kindly guided my steps during my tour through Java and Bali. He recounts the History of the Society (vide *Bulletin of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1938) and pointing to the date of its foundation, 24th April, 1778, characterises the *Koninklijk Bataviaasch Gnootschap van kunsten en Wetenschappen* as "the oldest scientific body of Western origin in Eastern Asia." J. C. M. Radermacher, a member of the council of the Dutch East Indies, founded the Society

and gave it the motto "For the Common Weal." Meeting premature death in 1783, he left, nevertheless, a great legacy of idealism to his successors.

During the English occupation (1811-1816) Thomas Stanford Raffles, as Lieutenant Governor of the Indies, came to be the President of the Society and encouraged the study of ethnology, religion and antiquities of the Javanese people which came to be the regular features of the Proceedings of the Society. In 1860 the Government, for the first time, decided to grant the Society the annual subsidy of 8,000 guilders ; and a few years later a royal decree enabled the Society to possess a suitable building to house its library and its growing collection of antiquities and ethnography. Thus before the celebration of its first centenary in 1878, the Society could proudly show a noble museum and a valuable record of research. Its rich library attends to five departments—(1) Native Customary Laws, (2) Language, Geography and Ethnology, (3) Law, (4) Social Economics, (5) International Problems.

The Museum of the Society includes seven divisions devoted to ethnography, archaeology, manuscripts, numismatics, ceramics, music and the pre-history of the Indies. The first two divisions display valuable exhibits giving a complete survey of the culture of the people from the Hindu period to the present day. The nucleus of the ceramic collection (dating from the 1st to the 18th century A.D.) was donated by Mr. E. W. van Orsoy de Flines. A remarkable collection of musical instruments and gramophone records helps the study of native music (*vide* Kunst, "The Music of Java," *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. VIII, 1934). The pre-historic collection, although last to be added, is no less important. In its "Gold Chamber" the Museum treasures precious gold images, ornaments, etc. ; from the ancient Hindu period to the heirlooms of the native princes and nobles of to-day. Some of the most important and beautiful specimens of Indo-Javanese art in stone, bronze and precious metals could be found only in the historic Museum of the Society. It publishes ever since 1853 its periodical *Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*. It publishes also the texts and translations of ancient Javanese works in the *Bibliotheca Javanica* and also the Archaeological Reports in collaboration with the Archaeological Service in the Netherlands East Indies which recently celebrated its Silver Jubilee.

The Archaeological Service

Though a regular service was started only in 1913, the Government made archaeology a subject of state concern as early as 1901, following the example of British India reorganising its Archaeological Department under Lord Curzon and that of French Indo-China founding its famous *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient.*

At the suggestion of Mr. J. W. Ijzerman, the Committee in the Netherlands East Indies for Archaeological Research at Java and Madura was formed in 1901.

The renowned Dutch philologist Dr. J. L. A. Brandes was the Chairman of the Committee which published 12 volumes of reports describing in detail the important statues and sanctuaries of the Hindu period (before 1500 A.D.). It attended also to the conservation of monuments, as we find from the excellent restoration of the Borobudur, under the supervision of Col. van Erp. Dr. Brandes, before his premature death in 1905, laid the broad outlines of the study of Javanese Art and Archaeology. In 1910, Dr. M. J. Krom was appointed Chairman of the Committee and restored order in the chaos of materials accumulated as Head of the Research Service. On June 14, 1913, the Committee was dissolved and Dr. Krom became the first Director of the newly founded Archaeological Service. Serving in Java for five years, he returned to Holland (1915) and was appointed Professor of Archaeology at the Leyden University. Dr. F. D. K. Bosch succeeded Dr. Krom as Director and managed the Department admirably for twenty years. During this period many historical structures that were damaged past recognition or lay buried under the debris or layers of ashes were successfully restored. Thanks to the watchful care and expert guidance of Dr. Bosch, some of the great monuments of Indo-Javanese Art were thus restored and rebuilt without violating in the least the canons of scientific archaeology or of aesthetic appeal, so much so that archaeologists from the famous *Ecole* of French Indo-China accepted the Dutch method of reconstruction as their model. Between 1901-1913, Tchandi Pawon and Tchandi Mendoet were restored and partially reconstructed according to the instructions of Dr. Brandes. The great temple of Borobudur was restored by Col. van Erp (1907-1911). We note here chronologically the restoration of the following important temples: the Naga and the

Era temple at Panataran (1917-1918), Badoet (1926), Sewoe (1928), Kalasan (1929), Sari (1930), Singasari (1937). The most important and expensive restoration was that in connection with the famous temples of the Prambanan group. After ten years of preliminary operations, the enormous project of reconstructing the principal temple of the Lorodjonggrang group at Prambanan was taken up in 1937. Sustained work of such a type necessitated the establishment of an office of the architectural section of the Archaeological Service at Prambanan (Jogjakarta). This temple dedicated to Siva originally was nearly 160 ft. high. Its reconstruction was interrupted through lack of funds and when it was resumed in 1937, the Department could only hope that it would be completed within seven years. The temples of Bali had also to be attended to, and Sumatra, as yet indifferently explored, would also give plenty of scope to archaeologists in the future. Organised revival of Balinese art is the aspiration of the 150 and odd members of the Association of Balinese Artists "Pita Maha" at Oeboed in South Bali (*vide* Kats, "Modern Art in Bali," *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XIII, 1939).

In Bali as well as in Java the cultural influences of India are decisively demonstrated not only in architecture and sculpture but in ome important branches of decorative art and above all in the divine art of dancing. The basis of this noble art may be traced to the primitive Malayo-Polynesian races and cults but the gorgeous superstructure and the soul of the art is admitted to have come from India, the land of the Nātyaśāstra. Dutch specialists like Dr. van Lelyveld and Dr. Bake (who spent years in Dr. Tagore's Santiniketan) agreed that Javanese theatre and dancing should be studied in close relation with the art traditions of India (vide *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, 1935). The plastic art of Java and Bali could be best understood and appreciated if one is helped by the living commentary of rhythm supplied by their art of dancing. This I felt from day to day. During my pilgrimage through Java and Bali (*vide* "Greater India Revisited," *Modern Review*, 1926). Discussing this subject with eminent Javanese and Dutch authorities like H. H. Mankoenagara VII, the Sultan of Jogjakarta, Dr. Bosch, Dr. Schrieke, Dr. Callenfels and others, I came to realise what a vast field of research lies ahead of us tracing the migration into Indonesia and transformation therein of the *Nātyaśāstra* tradition of India. The best schools of Javanese dancing are those maintained by the enlightened Sultans of Surakarta and

Ankor Vat, Cambodia

Bayon Temple, Cambodia

Jogjakarta, to whom every lover of Asiatic art should be grateful for their artistic zeal and munificent patronage.

Another most promising field of comparative study points to the bronze statues and cult objects of Java and India. From the Andhra-Kalinga period of the early centuries of the Christian Era, through the schools of Ajanta, to the grand epochs of the Gupta, Pallava, Pala and Cola empires Indian plastic arts have been influencing the Javanese art of stone carving and bronze casting. We are thankful to Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers (*vide* "Hindu Javanese Bronzes," *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, 1935), for having opened this promising line of research with a comprehensive monograph on the subject.* But our famous bronze collections scattered in different museums, including even the most valuable finds like those from Nalanda and Kurkihar, have not yet been adequately catalogued and photographed. This stands in the way of our learned colleagues of Dutch East Indies and of French Indo-China, who often fail to get photographs from India for attempting a comparative study. Compared with our Indian Museums and art societies I found the photographic department and the news service of the French and the Dutch Archaeological Service more efficient and helpful and the quality of the photographic documents far superior.

India and Java

In our section on the "Art and Archaeology of Malaysia" we have tried to demonstrate how it is no longer possible to discuss Indo-Javanese history and culture detached from the main current of the cultural migrations from India to Indonesia and Malaysia. Recent excavations in Malay Peninsula have proved beyond doubt that these migrations operated as much through the land routes as through the sea routes. As early as 2nd century A.D. a Greek geographer like Ptolemy was vaguely conscious of this fact and that is why we find the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula occupying such an important place in his geography. Ptolemy refers to Java as *Jabadieu* (Yavadvipa) which is translated as the "island of Barley" proving beyond doubt that the Hindu colonists had already Sanskritised the name of the island. Pref. Sylvain Levi while discussing that part of the *Rāmāyāna* where Yavadvipa-Suvarnadvipa is mentioned in connection with the search

* *Vide* Bernet Kempers, "*The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art*," Leyden, 1933.

for Sita, ascribed that passage of the Epic to a date not later than the 1st century A.D. (*vide* Bijanraj Chatterjee, "India and Java," *Greater India Society Bulletin*, 1933). Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee, Dr. Niranjanprasad Chakravarti have happily collaborated to demonstrate that, from the early Christian centuries, India and Java furnished documents relating to religion, art and literature as well as epigraphic materials, down to Saka Era 1300, or 1378 A.D. These Sanskrit inscriptions from Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Malay Peninsula should be carefully studied along with the corpus of inscriptions found in Champa Cambodge, Siam and Burma and this line of comparative study is bound to enrich the domain of research into our Indian epigraphy. This has been demonstrated through the valuable book of Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee on *Hindu Culture in Cambodia*, and of Dr. Bahadur Chand Sastri's monograph on *The Pallavas in Java*. The most outstanding work along this line is that on *Suvarnadvipa* (Vols. 1 and 2, 1937-1938) by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the learned Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca. He has rendered a signal service to the cause of Indology by reproducing as well as enriching the discussions of the Dutch antiquarians whose writings remained so far inaccessible to our Indian scholars. He links the Sailendras of Java with a definite Indian princely line the Sailodbhavas of Orissa who most probably were the progenitors of the Sailendra emperors of Java.

Starting with political and economic relations Dr. Majumdar has given an exhaustive survey of the culture and civilization, of art and archaeology of the whole Malay Archipelago, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes and the Philippines. Everywhere we notice the simultaneous existence of Brahmanical and Buddhistic cults often tending to fuse into one another and producing peculiar images of Vishnu, Garuda, Ganesha, Siva-Buddha complex, Bhairava, etc., found in different parts of Malay Peninsula. Interesting specimens of architecture and sculpture of Indian derivation have been found in Palembang (Sri Vijaya), in Jambi (Malayau) and in the Tapanuli region in Padang Lawas, all in the vast island of Sumatra. In the island of Borneo, Sanskrit inscriptions were traced by K. F. Holle in 1879 in the native state of Kotei, East Borneo. The local Sultan presented four inscribed stones to the Batavian Society and when they were published by Prof. Kern, they proved to be the now famous Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman, son of King Asvavarman. These valuable Sanskrit records from Borneo were re-edited and published by Dr. Vogel in

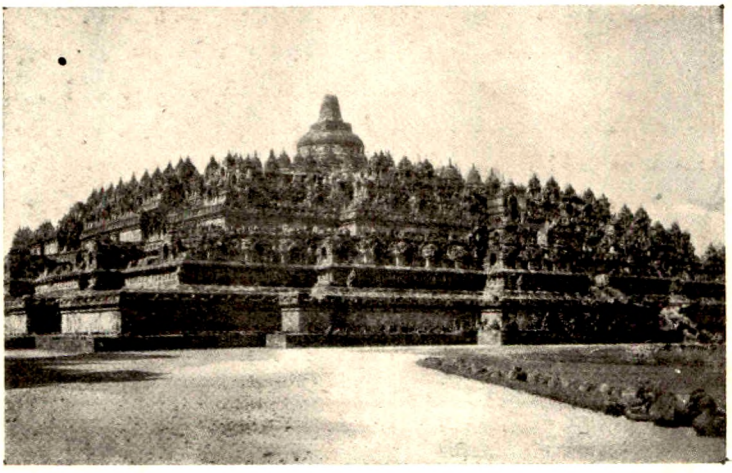
1918. Since then many specimens of Hindu architecture and iconography have been discovered in Borneo and these latest discoveries are promptly announced by that admirable publication, the *Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* published by the Kern Institute of Leyden. The most interesting discoveries are the images, both Saiva and Buddhist, found recently in Genung Kombeng in Borneo—Mahadeva, Kartikeya, Ganesha Vajrapani and other Bodhisattvas. Among the regalia belonging to the Sultan of Kutei there is a golden figure of a tortoise worn by the crown-prince on ceremonial occasions. The most beautiful bronze image of Buddha was discovered at Kota Bangun near Muara Kaman in Borneo. It may rank with the best Buddha figures of Borobudur. Dr. Majumdar is inclined to postulate "a direct Indian influence in the case of the bronze Buddha figure of Kota Bangun and in the figure of Ganesha at Sarawak" (*vide* Journal Str. Br. R. A. S., Vol. 85, 1922). In the island of Celebes a fine bronze Buddha was found on the bank of the Karama river on the western coast. Dr. Bosch traced it to the Amaravati school of sculpture, for it can be clearly distinguished from the Indo-Javanese and Indo-Sumatran types. Dr. Majumdar is inclined to characterise this bronze Buddha image from Celebes as well as a similar one found long ago at Dong Duong in Champa (Annam) as belonging to the early Gupta period. He noted in his informing volume how even the far-off island of the Philippines have yielded some specimens of Indian iconography: as early as 1820, a Siva image of copper was found on the island of Cebu which may be of Indian or Indo-Javanese affiliation. The second is a golden figure of female deity sitting cross-legged and richly decorated with head dress and other ornaments. It was found (1920) in a ravine on the left bank of the Wawa river near the town of Esperanza, Agusan province, Mindanao. No wonder then that India has been considered, by most of the antiquarians working in this field, as the principal source of inspiration for the people of Malaysia whose art as well as literature bear strong impress of Indian genius. A preliminary study along that line has come from a zealous pupil of Dr. Majumdar, writing on *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali* (*vide* Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, Greater India Studies No. 1, 1934).

The earlist literary documents of Java are the Sanskrit inscriptions (4th century A.D.) in Pallava script of a King named Purnavarman of the Hindu Kingdom of Taruma (western Java). In

middle Java traces of Indian influence are more extensive as attested by the inscriptions of Cangala (732 A.D.) and of Dinaya (760 A.D.) and the inscription of Candi Kalasan (778 A.D.). The last inscription refers to the Mahayana cult of Arya Tara and the earlier inscriptions may have reference to the Deva-raja (god-king) cult originating in Java and extending to Cambodia and Champa. The Kalasan inscription possibly supports the theory that Prambanan may have been the capital of the Srivijaya empire which extended its sway over Java, Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. Towards the beginning of the 9th century A.D. Cambodia under Jaya Varman II asserted her independence of Srivijaya. King Balaputradeva of Suvarnadvipa was applying (860 A.D.) to King Devapala who in his Nalanda copper plate ordered the building of a monastery and the granting of villages to maintain the same for the benefit of the pilgrims from Indonesia. The Tanjore Chola inscriptions of Rajendra Chola (1030 A D.) and of Rajaraja Rajakesharivarman (1044-1046) refer to the King of Kataha and Srivijaya.

This King was Cudamanivarman of the Sailendra dynasty who supported a Buddhist temple at Nagipattanam (Negapatam) which was called Sailendra Cudamanivarma Vihara in an inscription of Kullotunga Chola (1084 A.D.) Rajendra Chola claimed to have conquered Kataha and Srivijaya "beyond the moving seas." In the 11th century the famous Bengali monk Atisa Dipankara spent ten years in Sumatra completing his studies in Buddhism before starting for Tibet. From these chance discoveries we come to be confirmed in our conviction that cultural relations between India and Indonesia continued, with more or less vigour, through centuries. Purna Varman's inscriptions of 4th century A.D. referred to the cult of Vishnu. In the 7th century A.D. we find a series of isolated temples and sculptures in the Dieng Plateau showing clear analogies with the Gupta, Pallava and early Chalukya styles of India. The temples are named (no doubt in later periods) after Arjuna, Bhima, Ghatotkacha, Shikhandi, etc. The roof structure of Candi Bhima corresponds, according to Dr. Coomarswamy, with that of a typical Indo-Aryan Shikhara such as that of the Parasurāmesvara temple at Bhuvanesvar, Orissa. These Dieng shrines have panels of Brahmā, Siva and Vishnu and were therefore Brahmanical. The first Buddhist temple in Java was Candi Kalasan (778 A.D.) dedicated to Arya Tārā and close by we find large storeyed Vihara structure Candi Sari and

Siva Temple, Prambanam, Java



Baro-Budur, Java

further to the east the beautiful Candi Sewa of the early 9th century. Candi Mendut and Candi Pawan in Kedu with their splendid Buddhist figures were related to and contemporary with Borobudur (about 750 A.D.) the greatest monuments of Java symbolising the glory of Sailendra culture. Coomaraswamy refuses to accept it as a Stupa and traces its origin to the many terraced pyramidal temples of Kashmir and Gandhara. Borobudur, apart from its architectural grandeur, offers superb sculptural illustrations of the life of Lord Buddha according to Sanskrit Mahayāna texts like the *Lalita Vistara*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Jātakamālā* and *Gandavyuha*.

The greatest Brahmanical monuments in central Java is Candi Loro Jongrang or Prambanan. Three of its shrines are dedicated to Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva and the plinth is decorated by continuous reliefs of the *Rāmāyana* which are superior to the reliefs of Borobudur. From middle Java the centre of creative activity was shifted to eastern Java (about 915 A.D.) where we find a different type of art removed from the classical Indian traditions and akin to the mediaeval Javanese art. The great King Erlanga (1010-1042 A.D.) appears in a portrait statue as Vishnu riding upon Garuda. In the 12th century, when King Kamesvara flourished, Java was the land of chivalry and romance and the last phase was represented by the art and culture of the Majapahit empire (1294-1478 A.D). From the Singasari dynasty (1280-1292 A.D.) comes the famous figure of Prajnā Pāramitā now in the Leyden Museum. On Candi Jago, a Buddhist temple, we find illustrations of the Javanese Krishnāyana in Wayang like reliefs which became the characteristic feature of the Saiva temple group of Panataran (13th century A.D.) near Blitar. Java was already suffering from Islamic invasion and there was a general exodus of Hindu-Javanese art and culture to the island of Bali which might have already been colonised directly from India. The architecture and sculpture of Bali resembled very closely the styles of eastern Java found in the Panataran temples. Inspite of general conversion to Islam and partial conversion to Christianity the peoples of Java have retained some of the finest traits of Hindu culture and Bali continues to be predominantly Hindu. Therefore the whole of Indonesia deserves to be studied with the utmost care and thoroughness by Indologists in general and by Indian scholars in particular.

HEREDITY AND EDUCATION

BANSI DHAR, M.A., LL.B., L.T.
Allahabad

IN his dramatic speech in the Sheldonian Theatre on November 25, 1864, Disraeli took the opportunity of making it clear that on the question whether man was an ape or an angel, he was on the side of the angels. Another frantic defender of the old way ended his impassioned discourse with the words: "Leave me my ancestors in Paradise and I will allow you yours in the Zoological Gardens." The Theory of Evolution and the theory of heredity had, of necessity, to stand the onslaught of these bantering remarks. Mr. Whewell says "that every great scientific discovery went through three stages. First people said, 'It is absurd.' Then they said 'It is contrary to the Bible.' And finally they said 'We always knew it was so.' The aforesaid comments are characteristic pronouncements under the first two heads. The later sixties and seventies saw the recognition of this diabolic view: thanks to the labour of Huxley.

The theory of heredity existed as a belief for centuries before entering on its experimental stage in the later nineteenth century. The truth that "like begets like" was assumed by all the ancients. They held that the child inherits some of the traits from the father and some from the mother. Almost all classical writings on animal husbandry refer to the likelihood that characters found in one generation would be found also in the next generation. The Theory of Evolution gave these views a coherence and scientific orientation. The invention of the compound microscope towards the close of the sixteenth century enabled the investigators in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to discover that both the male and the female contributed to the formation of the next generation (and how fertilization of the ovum actually took place). We now know that the daughter and the son have equal opportunities to inherit from each parent, and that on the average the traits shown by a boy or girl are equally divided so far as maternal and paternal origin are concerned.

Much water has flown under the bridge since the incorporation of these conclusions on heredity in the text books on biology. Weismann saw in the "eighties of the last century that in some way

which he did not know there must be a loss of traits to the extent of fifty per cent for each parent; otherwise each generation would have twice as much inheritance as its immediate predecessor." (In 1883 Van Benedan first demonstrated that the matured egg cells and sperm cells had only half the number of Chromosomes characteristic of the somatic (bodily) cells of the species. The processes of ogenesis and spermatogenesis are slightly different, yet both involve a similar and very essential change—namely, the reduction of the number of the chromosomes common to the somatic cells of that species, *diploid*, to half the normal number, *haploid*. Since the Chromosomes are known to be the direct carriers of inheritance it means that one half of the traits of each immature egg and sperm cell held in a dormant condition are lost to each individual. Since the lost half is due to chance, each is likely to receive a different half and to have a different inheritance. It is here that *real fundamental inheritable variation has its first chance to be accomplished.*

It is to Galton that we must turn for a second advancement. Galton's law of inheritance laid down that children tend to inherit one half of their characters from their immediate parents, one fourth from their grandparents, one eighth from their great-grand parents. This law, of course, is not entirely accurate but expresses a fairly common tendency. By measuring the height of numerous human beings, he found that exceptionally tall parents produced offsprings on the average slightly shorter than the parents themselves, and that the extremely small parents, on the average, had offsprings slightly taller than themselves. The tendency of the descendants of extreme variants to return to the average of the population seems ever to be present, whether the character be height, weight or mentality. This law worked out by Galton is sometimes called the *law of regression.*

Gregor Mendel's experiments, though earlier than that of Galton, were discovered in 1900. It is unfortunate that he did not attract the attention of the workers in biology then living, such as Darwin, Wallace and Huxley. His name is associated with three important laws—(1) *the law of dominance* according to which the character that does not appear in the first filial generation is called the *recessive* in contrast with the persistent or dominant character; (2) *the law of unit characters*—that is, characters are inherited as unit by the next generation, and do not mix with the like or similar

characters from the opposite parent. The unit characters are now known to be determined by *genes* ; (3) *the law of segregation*. Traits may be recessive in one generation, only to reappear as distinct units in the next generation. (This means that no true mixing up of the protoplasm has taken place, even though the trait was lost for one or more generations. *Cf.* Van Benden.) The three principles or " laws " worked out by Mendel in the years 1861-1866 still hold in the main, but certain modifications have been found, and several additional laws have been discovered. Perhaps the greatest modifications are that the word *gene* must be used nearly always in place of the words *unit character* and that linkage is of common occurrence. The former term has been found to be too large. What was once referred to as a unit character is now known to include from several to many genes which in some species may be inherited independently. The possibility of such independent inheritance is readily explained by the linkage hypothesis.

Coming now to human inheritance we find a comparative dearth of exact information, for the following reasons: (1) Few people can be sure of their exact germinal constitution, since there has been so much mixing of different stocks and nationalities ; (2) few people have been willing to be used as material for experimentation ; and (3) the average " human generation " is so long (twenty-five to thirty years) as to make difficult observations and experiments. For these reasons the data collected about human inheritance is limited chiefly to information given by interested persons. However, certain tentative conclusions have been drawn and then are being applied to the study of sociological and educational problems. Thus homozygous parents are unable to transmit something to their offspring not found in their own germplasm. A mongrel or hybrid, on the other hand, may produce a variety of traits, because the paired or double chromosomes are not identical in germinal constitution. If we take a cross between a blue-eyed homozygous Scandinavian and a brown-eyed homozygous Italian, all the children of this F_1 generation will be brown-eyed, since brown is dominant over blue, but in F_2 and F_3 generations the recessive features will come into prominence. Even in F_1 generation there may be exceptions but such cases can always be satisfactorily explained by experts. Similarly curly hair has been found to be dominant over straight hair.

This discussion has some important bearings for a student of education. Is feeble-mindedness heritable ? Feeble-mindedness is

a large term including the range downward from those who are just barely below normal mentally to the very lowest. Three distinct classes of feeble-minded persons are commonly recognized—the *moron* (nearest normal), the *imbecile*, and the *idiot*. The idiot and imbecile are hopeless and helpless (having to be cared for almost as infants) and they very seldom have offsprings. No person with even a grain of sense would ever marry an idiot or imbecile, but that is not the case with the moron. The moron who is often of a quiet disposition, is frequently mistaken for a wise person, and a moronic girl or woman of beauty is often selected as a mate by a normal person. (It is interesting to note that almost any person can pass as wise if he will only be quiet and hold his tongue.) There are thousands of cases where normal men have selected moronic women for wives, but seldom do normal women approve of moronic men for husbands. Now morons are not helpless by any means. They have almost no originality or planning ability. They cannot adapt themselves readily to new conditions. The moron is likewise easily led. If his associates are kind and moral people, he will probably be kindly and moral ; but if they are coarse and ill-mannered the moron associate is very likely to follow this example. No experimentation as such has been performed on human beings to ascertain the results in F_1 and F_2 generation, but hundreds of observations have been made on marriages between feeble-minded people and never have they been known to produce any but feeble-minded children. In other words feeble-mindedness is apparently inherited as a unit character. Doubtless there may be several genes in this unit character, but they seem always to be inherited together as one trait. Feeble-mindedness has been found to be recessive to normal-mindedness and this is probably always a homozygous trait. Therefore when a pure normal-minded individual mates with a feeble-minded one, any offspring in the F_1 generation will appear to be normal, but actually all are heterozygous dominants. This feeble-mindedness being recessive may make its appearance in succeeding generations. This is an undesirable possibility for those who consider themselves absolutely normal as regards mental condition, if both carry the feeble-minded trait recessively. This is possible even though all of the living relatives on both sides are normal and also all those who are known for several generations back. This is the experience of many a teacher in the case of boys who seem to have healthy parents but whose children do not get on

well with their studies. Such students must be segregated from the class which is an economic unit and treated differently as feeble-minded or difficult (problem) children. It would be interesting to draw up a list of such children in the institutions of these provinces, both as an experiment in human biology and experimental psychology. It should be emphasized that a weakened mentality due to injury to the brain, such as might be caused by a severe fever or head-fall, is not inherited by the children. In that case the germ cells have not been affected. It should also be emphasized that children or adults who are slow in learning are not necessarily feeble-minded. Slow learners are sometimes keen thinkers and may succeed as well in the end as those who easily grasp any situation. Nothing is so fatal as to inform such a child that he is stupid and hopeless. At the same time, it is generally true that "good things go together." The quick learner is more often a keen thinker than is the slow learner.

Epilepsy is also considered to be a unit character and seems to be definitely inherited from one generation to another. A person subject to epileptic attacks is definitely defective in his germplasm. Insanity, unlike epilepsy and feeble-mindedness, cannot be called a unit character. Normal children have been born of insane parents. The reason often given to explain this apparent impossibility is that there are many kinds of insanity. That is, the mentally deranged condition may be brought about in a number of ways. In cases where both parents are abnormal (insane) from the same inherited cause the offspring may inherit insanty. Dumbness, or the inability to speak, theoretically, would follow a similar law, although this inheritance has not been carefully worked out.

As for the inheritance of genius, the better opinion is that this trait is either recessive or is not a unit character at all. In a general way there seems to be such a thing as inherited musical ability or at least the ability to learn to play with little effort almost any musical instrument, and to play very complex selections. There are cases on record of children six or eight years of age playing compositions that adults are usually able to master only after long practice. Such traits as mathematical ability and linguistic ability doubtless have an element of actual and particular inheritance in them to about the same degree that musical ability has. Another common question is whether criminals are "born" or whether they are "made" because

of bad social conditions. Probably both hypotheses are true, the latter more frequent than the former. Kleptomaniacs who sometimes are able to buy any of the things stolen are often quite unable to resist the impulse to steal. Likewise more serious crimes are sometimes committed by persons who assert with apparent sincerity that they "cannot help it." As for longevity S. J. Holmes has remarked that length of life is in his opinion probably more a matter of being born in a family with a long life record than anything else. Often minor traits such as baldness, white patches in the hair, twitching eyes, peculiar marks on the skin, are cited as matters of definite inheritance, and doubtless they are since three or four generations of a family may be observed displaying such traits.

Conclusions

(1) The most important conclusion about human inheritance on the physical side is that, in order to have healthy offsprings, both parents of each parent should be of high quality: so that, regardless of what happens (according to the Mendelian laws) at maturation and fertilization, the offspring, although different, will be of high quality. It is obvious that the offspring of crosses between healthy individuals of different nationalities may be as desirable as those of parents of the same nationality.

(2) In human inheritance the most important thing is that individuals have healthy bodies and potentially healthy mental condition.

(3) Lacking the inheritance of genius, great achievement in any given field is possible as the result of fortunate circumstances of birth and training, favourable opportunities, and usually much hard work.

(4) Individuals below a certain standard should be prevented by a relatively simple and safe operation from the possibility of propagating their kind.

(5) Or failing this, defectives of all kinds should be segregated sex-wise in different institutions. If all such undesirables are segregated, there would be great crowding for about a quarter of a century, then a gradual diminution of numbers until only those accidentally born abnormal from apparently normal parents will be present. Abnormality will probably reappear in every generation among offsprings of normal people carrying recessive traits, but such cases would be comparatively rare. A famous American sociologist

says it is a sign of "molasses headedness" that we allow the most unfit and the highly undesirable to become the parents of the next generation.

(6) Confirmed criminals should be segregated.

(7) There should be rigid examinations, physical and mental, of all individuals before the issuance of a marriage license, the obtaining of which should be made compulsory.

We have so far insisted on the most fundamental thing in life that is to be born with fine germ plasm ; this can take place only if the parents and grandparents possess such germ plasm. Without the observance of these eugenic (improvement of the germ plasm of the race) principles, improvement of the race by means of an improved environment (euthenics) cannot really go very far. There is nothing more alarming than the fact that the unfit are producing more rapidly than the fit, in proportion to their numbers, and *nothing* is more fundamental to the survival of the race than the reversal of this tendency. A people with healthy germ plasm will seek out or make for itself a fine environment.

Educational corollaries.—In a democracy, education must always precede legislation if willing obedience to law is to be expected, and hence we require twofold agencies: (1) Propaganda and (2) The Schoolmaster.

(1) *Propaganda*

Propaganda among the adults in cities and rural areas through the Rural Development department and the municipal boards to dissuade the unfit from multiplying or if they must marry they must submit to the state legislation for the operation referred to above. This should apply both to the cases of undesirable *actual* and congenital inheritance. The actual inheritance comprises only that which is inherent in the germ plasm, transmitted by means of the chromosomes to the next generation regardless of all external conditions, such as climate. The actual inheritance of the next generation is complete upon the fertilization of the egg by the sperm cell. Congenital inheritance, on the other hand, includes the factors which may be experienced by or added to the embryo after fertilization and before hatching or birth. A specific example is that of the child born with the measles because the mother was

afflicted with that disease or with syphilis because the mother was also afflicted. It must be remembered that the mother is more important to the unborn child than is the father, since she contributes one half of the inheritance fund and all the environment of the unborn babe for the first nine months. The nine months' gestation period of the human embryo, then, is the time when "congenital" inheritance may be forced upon and added to the "actual" inheritance of the embryo. The duty to save expectant mothers from contaminating the foetus is cast on the Child Welfare Centres whose work should be made more extensive and effective.

(2) *The Duties of Schoolmasters*

(*a*) It is safe to conclude that, if the transmission of acquired characters does not take place through the germ cell, it is so rare an occurrence that no reliance can be placed upon the hope that any one generation, however improved, will transmit its improvement to the next generation. All that eugenic methods can succeed in doing is to minimise the chances of the unfit multiplying thick and fast. It, therefore, behoves all teachers to make as favourable an environment as possible for the children in their care, in order that the traits that lie dormant may be allowed to come to the fullest possible expression, and *in order that desirable traits can be passed on through instruction, discipline, example and inspiration*—such traits, for example, as literacy, good manners, moral standards, and good health habits, as well as the knowledge that the race has accumulated and refined during the long ages that have elapsed since man first became Man. "In an important sense," says John C. Johnson, "the fact that acquisitions cannot be passed on through physical heredity gives to social heredity (of which education is the chief agency) its great opportunity and its great responsibility.

(*b*) All our instincts relate to the remote past of the race and to uncivilized existence. Therefore such general innate tendencies as sympathy, suggestion, imitation, play, and habit or routine should be taken advantage of to enable the child to acquire the accumulated experience of the race. Hence we find an increasing emphasis being laid on the playway in education. It is, therefore, necessary to introduce some measure of self-government, in the way of prefect systems and house and team systems in all educational institutions.

Prefects must be freely elected and given real authority and responsibility, the inspiration for these coming from the unconscious suggestions emanating from the team spirit in the staff itself. Each teacher should be a centre of suggestion and a fountainhead of inspiration and sympathy for the pupils. If today we deplore the failure of these experiments in our Indian schools, the blame must lie at the door of the administration which discriminates between a schoolmaster and an executive officer, providing the latter with a status, with decent emoluments and a privileged place in life and society. Harassed with financial worries and often entangled in school politics and communal wire pulling and in manipulating ways and means to canvass support for making a bid for advancement, the schoolmaster is hardly fitted to be the proper person for the guidance of the pupils in his charge. If things could be improved the school would be a society organised on the lines of an ideal democracy. "The master would then assume the *rôle* of constitutional monarch having certain prerogatives and vetoes, but, in the main, guiding and interpreting public opinion." (Nunn's *Education: Its Data and First Principles*, p. 112.) He is the representative of the wider society, and his function is to be *liaison* officer between it and the smaller society of the school." (Ross: *Groundwork of Educational Psychology*, p. 114.) Hence the Montessorians talk of directresses, while Mr. Norman MacMunn styled himself the "chief adviser to the boys of Tiptree Hill." Thus alone would it be possible to create that environment which, whether acquired traits be transmitted or not, will bring to perfection the latent faculties of the healthy germ plasms. It is in such an atmosphere that the Dalton Plan, the Project Method and the Grey Scheme (see Morgan: *Social Aspect of Education*) can have a successful trial.

(*c*) It is impossible to put through the suggestions for the elimination of the unfit at once. Perhaps even when these have been accepted and tried it would be decades before the hope of biologists and the promises of Eugenics can be realized. Meanwhile, the teacher has got to tackle the problem child—the morone, the feeble-minded and the idiot, leaving the deaf, the dumb and the blind alone. There can be little doubt of the utility of healthy environment, we have so much emphasised, even for these. But the environment cannot be a cure for the hereditary defects. Each class of child, catalogued above, requires separate treatment:—

(1) The blind, the dumb and the deaf are not necessarily deficient in mental capacity. Most of the blind persons belong to the mobile type, and with sympathetic guidance and the extension of the Braille alphabets many a boy and a girl will bud into Laura Bridgman or Helen Keller. The deaf and the dumb need special guidance to develop their visual and motor images. Much useful work is being done by the Christian missionaries in this direction but it is the duty of the state to provide for the education of all and sundry, and it is amazing that our training colleges most unfairly ignore the importance of training teachers for this class of students.

(2) The moron is not difficult to manage even in our present-day institutions. All that is needed is that the head of the institution should have the discretion to make the necessary alterations in the syllabus for him and to recommend such cases for special papers at the board examination. Let us hope that the basic system of education turning on Manual labour or Art as the pivot of all school education will make the necessary provision for such children to get elementary education and then enter some mechanical vocation successfully.

(3) The feeble-minded (imbeciles) and idiots have been defined as those who by reason of mental defect existing from birth, or from an early age, are incapable of earning their own living, but are capable of guarding themselves against common physical dangers, and those so deeply defective in mind from birth, or from an early age, that they are unable to guard themselves against common physical dangers, respectively. In all these cases of amentia the brain tissues have not developed properly and uniformly, to the normal degree. There can be no denying that all such cases require special care in asylums where they may be kept under proper care and enabled to acquire such rudiments of the three R's as their physical and mental care may enable them to. Norsworthy and Whitley have set forth at length the physical and mental characteristics of the subnormal children (the moron, the imbecile or feeble-minded and the idiot). In all such cases, any way 90% of all cases, amentia results from hereditary influences. The other 10% result from environmental influences, such as some disease, or alcoholism of the mother during pregnancy, injuries received to the head before, during or after birth, certain toxic poisons resulting

from infectious diseases, defective gland actions affecting nutrition. So far as the inheritance is congenital euthenics can go a long way in remedying these defects and no system of state education can, or rather should, ignore this.

We have surveyed a wide field and have attempted to bring out some of the educational bearings of biological researches into heredity. Whether Wiesmann or Lamarck is in the right, it is difficult to pronounce a judgment upon. Bernard Shaw's caustic comment: "A vital conception of evolution would have taught Weismann that biological problems are not to be solved by assaults on mice" is premature. Yet there is an element of truth in it. "Man is not the slave of his environment; not only can he adapt himself to it, but he can a dapt it to himself." (Ross: "Groundwork of Educational Psychology," p. 89.) In "Education and the Heredity Spectre" Dr. F. H. Mayward rejoices that evil habits are not passed (if Weismann be right) and therefore the educator can be sure of starting his work without a balance on the adverse side. We have, however, seen there is unfortunately a balance on the adverse side in a certain percentage of cases. But altogether the situation is hopeful. The good habits of one generation, even if not transmitted, create a social environment in which it is easier for the educator to overcome the force of inertia which accounts for so much waste these days. Hence it is incumbent on us not to retard but to advance the pace of creative evolution through a richer mneme and a more active horme. We all can, in varying degree, do our best to leave the world better and happier when the last biological necessity, death, overtakes us.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Aligarh University and the War

The need for University students to develop a proper sense of responsibility and cultivate the habit of cool judgment, was emphasized by Prof. A. B. A. Halim, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, addressing the students of the Aligarh Moslem University recently.

He observed that the greatness of a nation did not lie in politics alone but in the building up of a healthy social and economic structure and a sound educational system.

After referring to the present war in Europe and the need for full preparation of India's defence to meet the danger that might threaten her, the speaker said that it was the policy of Aligarh University to give every possible encouragement and help to students who volunteered their services for India's defence.

Dacca University Court

Sj. Arun Prosad Roy Choudhury and Sj. Ajit Kumar Das have been elected members of the Dacca University Court for the next three years, as representatives of the East Bengal Landholders' Association.

Patna University

It is understood that in the Patna University budget for 1940-41 two new proposals are likely to be provided for. One is a building for the University Union and another for the establishment of a Chair for research work. The expenditure for the latter will obviously be a recurring one.

It is also understood that provision is being made in the new budget of the Patna University for Rs. 15,000 for the purpose of founding Chairs for research for one year to begin with.

Travancore University

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India and Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, inaugurated the Travancore University Union.

Sir Maurice Gwyer emphasized the essential unity in Indian student life and said that the more he learnt about Indian Universities, the more he was conscious of the essential identity of interests among their students.

They were inspired by the same ambitions, the same ideals, the same love of their country, and the same determination to fit themselves for the larger life whether in British India or in the Indian States.

Osmania University

A communique issued by the Government says that with the sanction of the Nizam a Committee of Enquiry has been set up in connection with the Osmania University incidents in which students are involved. Members of the Committee are Sir M. Venkatasubbarao (Chairman), Mr. Fazal Mahamed Khan, and Nawab Ghouse Yarjung. The Committee will enquire into the facts and causes leading to the occurrences and suggest measures necessary to prevent their recurrence in future. The enquiry is not open to the public but the Vice-Chancellor of the University in consultation with the various interests concerned, will make arrangements for their representation.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address

"Let us have political freedom by all means. Let us also have economic, legal, and social freedom—these, all these, are very essential. But above all is the freedom of the human spirit and the soul," said Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University performing the opening ceremony of the new hall of the Allahabad University Union. He added, "this spiritual freedom and advancement is equally essential and the individual is the ultimate manifestation of any kind of spiritual advance and also the ultimate end of any kind of social organisation."

Sir S. Radhakrishnan hoped that in this hall the young men of the University would find an opportunity to devote time to their spiritual development and to the ennobling of their soul.

Indian Medical Council

The two-day sitting of the Executive Committee of the Indian Medical Council commenced recently at the Darbhanga Building of Calcutta University. Dr. B. C. Roy, President of the Council, was in the chair.

Excepting Dr. Mudaliar (Madras), the following members of the committee attended the meeting:

Dr. B. C. Roy (President), Dr. Erulkar (Bombay), Dr. Vyas (Lucknow), Major-General G. C. Jolly (Indian Medical Service), Col. Bharucha and Dr. K. S. Roy.

The Executive Committee considered various aspects of medical education and the relationship of the medical profession in India with outside countries. The method of ensuring reciprocity between India and other countries in so far as mutual recognition of medical qualifications obtaining in respective countries were concerned, and the question of providing the Council with a register of the medical graduates of the country were also discussed at the meeting.

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Light in Service of Agriculture

Delivering a lecture under the auspices of the Allahabad University Chemical Society on 'Light in the Service of Agriculture' Dr. N. R. Dhar, Deputy Director of Public Instruction, dwelt on the utility of the nitrogen industry, which, he said, was almost as important as the steel or coal industry. He said that every civilized nation had its own nitrogen fixation industry and the production of combined nitrogen might rightly be taken as the measure of the standard of civilization.

Giving the 1937 figures of nitrogen production of different countries, the lecturer said that Germany stood at the top while Japan was only second to it. It seemed that those Axis powers were preparing themselves for war.

Dr. Dhar pointed out that 35 billion kilograms (*seers*) of cellulosic materials, like leaves, hay, plant residues, were added to the soil every year. On a moderate estimate, of ten milligrams of nitrogen fixation per gram of carbon oxidized, about 13,000,000 tons of nitrogen were added every year to the earth by fixation and approximately half of that amount, *i.e.*, 6,500,000 tons, was due to the absorption of sunlight. It appeared, therefore, that much more nitrogen was fixed in nature by light absorption in soils than that fixed by the industrial process. The total amount fixed by the industrial process was equal to 3,547,352 tons. Hence in the economy of nature, next to photo-synthesis (*i.e.*, carbon assimilation of plants from the carbonic acid of air by absorption of sunlight) in plants, the influence of light on nitrogen fixation led to incalculable benefit to humanity and was of very considerable value.

Dr. Dhar regretted that India had no nitrogen industry. Recently a factory had been started in the Mysore State for nitrogen fixation and that was the only factory in India.

Research and Demonstration

A new policy and an extended plan of work have been adopted by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, which expects to carry them out with the larger funds it will soon have at its disposal. The agricultural cess levied to finance the Council's activities is expected to yield about Rs. 14 or 15 lakhs annually compared to the present annual grant of Rs. 5 lakhs made by the Government of India.

The Council's new policy will, it is stated, express itself in a shift of emphasis from research to demonstration. More funds will be devoted to translating into every day agricultural practice the results of research accumulated during the past few years. The need is to be met by the overhauling of existing machinery decided upon by the recent meeting of the Governing Body of the Council.

A number of small compact sub-committees in place of the existing large committees are to be sent up to deal with the research and other needs of each single commodity. The work of these sub-committees is to be correlated by the new Central Agricultural and Livestock Economic Committee of eight members. The Economic Committee will advise the Government body of the Council how to make the best possible adjustment and distribution of funds as between the claims of different crops and as

between research and demonstration; it will give advice as to how and on what commodities research could be most fruitfully employed. It will keep a watch on the trend of world prices and world demand and make suggestions from time to time to the Advisory Board of the Council what commodities would give the best return to the cultivator. The larger problem of crop-planning for the whole of India, it is pointed out, is not the Committee's concern.

Training of research workers is also a part of the extended scope of the Council's activities.

Miscellany

THE FRENCH ECONOMIST PIROU

A four-volume *Traité d'Economie Politique* by Professor Gaetan Pirou of Paris has been announced by the *Librairie du Recueil Sirey* while issuing his *Introduction à l'Etude de l'Economie Politique* (1939). This introduction is a work of 300 pages and is given over exclusively to economic methodology. Pirou believes that the latest discoveries in physics have not been able to generate any revolution in the scientific method itself. Like most continental (French, German, Italian and Russian) economists Pirou treats economics as a special branch of sociology. Indeed, a chapter deals with sociology in a somewhat detailed manner. This treatment differentiates the author from the general run of Anglo-American writers on economic treatises.

In regard to economics proper Pirou is statistical and historical rather than speculative and abstract. Although empiricist and realistic he is prepared to attach importance to the psychological analysis of economic motives and activities. The Ricardian and neo-Ricardian (Menger-Pantaleoni-Marshall) classicisms or abstractions have therefore been given their due. The fundamental postulates of classical and neo-classical economics have been examined by Pirou in this connection. He is prepared to concede that hedonism or the majesty of self-interest will continue to be accepted as the leading plank in economic analysis in many fields. But, as for competition, another classical and neo-classical postulate, Pirou is sceptical. The contemporary economic world is the theatre of monopolies and monopolistic combinations, which counteract the play of competition. Students of realistic economics cannot to-day afford to take competition as a postulate for economic investigations.

As empiricist and realist Pirou is somewhat disabused of the value of mathematical equilibria in economic analysis. He believes that the mathematical equations have been serving to draw economic science step by step away from the objective economic realities. But economics as the science of concrete economic facts should by all means try to keep as close to them as possible. Pirou's observations in this *Introduction* are altogether well worth the attention of countries like India where economics *as a theoretical discipline* is still in its non-age among the researchers.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE WORKINGMEN AND CLERKS OF FRANCE

An investigation into the standard of living in a *mofussil* region of France was undertaken by the *Institut scientifique de recherches économiques et sociales* of Paris during 1936-38. The area selected was Toulouse in South-western France. Henry Delpech has submitted the report which has been published as *Recherches sur le niveau de vie et des habitudes de consommation* (Researches into the standard of life and modes of consumption) by the Sirey Co. of Paris. The document covers 328 pages and deals

with 40 workingmen's families, 40 families of salaried employees, (*i.e.*, clerks), and 20 other middle class families. In regard to these 100 families data have been collected and analyzed about receipts, expenses and consumption. The September-November 1937 period was taken as the base, the February-April 1937 being employed to test the ability of families to keep accounts and subsequently to select the families for this research. For the purpose of comparison the September-November 1937 period was used. Supervisors visited each family at least once a week. An important item in this study is the effects of the changes in income upon the direction of expenditure. The " social distinction " between the workers and the salaried employees (*i.e.*, the " white-collared slaves " or clerks) is found to be not so much in the amount of expenditure as in the mode of living."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

MARX VIS-A-VIS NAZI AND SOVIET

Reviewing F. Borkenau's *Totalitarian Enemy* (London, 1940) Dr. Isabella Massey says in *International Affairs* (Chatham House, London, June 1940):

" Mr. Borkenau in *The Totalitarian Enemy* studies the points at issue in the conflict between the democratic and the totalitarian regimes and arrives at conclusions many of which are both new and suggestive and will affront only Marxists of the strict observance. Marx is reduced to human proportions as the stimulating interpreter of Victorian industrial conditions, whose theory of the class struggle has been shipwrecked on facts. His prophecy of social revolution has been put into execution, not by the proletariat, but by the Bolsheviks and Nazis, and has led, not to international co-operation, but to war. In the more highly developed Germany, Nazism emerged from a deadlock in the political struggle and superimposed a new ruling gang on the old ruling classes, gradually permeating and superseding the latter. In the more backward Russia a complete new ruling class emerged out of military defeat and early achieved complete ascendancy. Under both regimes politics and economics are dictated by the needs of the ruling caste in maintaining its power. Nationalist expansionism is not indigenous to " capitalist " regimes. It seems to be a passing phase in the evolution of a people. The " capitalist " Britain, France and United States have outlived the phase. Germany has the malady now in its acute form, but signs indicate that there the surfeit of overwork and malnutrition in the interests of national expansion has spoilt the enthusiasm for it of the working classes, This is a book to be read by all who are seeking their bearings in the present-day maze of ideologies."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE GERMAN ECONOMY

The Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London, June, 1940) describes Hans Behrend's *Real Rulers of Germany* (London, 1940) as follows:

" Herr Behrend is a Stalinist communist writing before the Russo-German Pact of 1939. Those who do not share the author's convictions

can usually read the book as an economic pendant to the many studies on political personalities and aspects of the Nazi regime. Using official utterances and statistics, Herr Behrend traces the gradual elimination of artisans and small commercial and manufacturing undertakings. Between April, 1936 and April, 1938, 104,000 independent artisans gave up their business to work in big factories. A decree of 1937 enacted that all small joint-stock companies must vanish by 1940 and that no new companies could be formed with a capital of less than half a million marks. By 1938, one-third of all German capital had passed into the hands of 5 per cent. of the total number of joint-stock companies. The handful of very big firms all belong to the heavy industries. Textile and other light industries find the import and export trade entirely subordinated to armament interests. The gross revenues of Krupps more than doubled between 1933 and 1937. Director's fees have soared while worker's wages have dropped, sometimes as much as 25 per cent. Even the *Angriff* of May 1st, 1939, published violent protests about the "slave driving" in the factories. The big armament firms actually do their own banking. They have everything their own way so long as they do not fall foul of the political bosses, but the fall of Thyssen suggests that, when they do, they are as vulnerable as other people."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

RACES, SOCIETIES AND PEOPLES*

For the long delay in reviewing this book my apologies are due, since the book would have received more respectful attention when published than now. That is not to say that Muehlmann is an apologist for Nazi racialist views, though not entirely free from Nordic idealizations. Rather, his basic thesis is that the biological approach is entirely inadequate to explain observed and even experimentally tested racial differences. The great questions of race psychology, race differences, race competition, and race in world politics are really questions of peoples rather than races; and they are intimately bound up with the whole history of the group life in its struggle for adaptation to its physical, political, and cultural environment. Even the questions of race crossing are in fact questions of the mixture of strains within a stream of cultural processes.

The kernel of the book is the study of *Siebung* and *Auslese*. The former means locality and social selection, the latter natural (lethal and reproductive). Locality selection results in the less endowed being pushed into poorer environments, *i.e.*, horizontal mobility; social selection results in vertical (up-and-down) mobility. These processes are studied for a variety of cultures, with reference to several important institutions (church, school, family, political organization) a large part of the materials being drawn from researches by American sociologists, psychologists, and demographers. Race is defined as a social group having similar physical and psychological traits, which have been formed and are conserved by the two types of selection. Following a purely ethnological chapter on religious and cultist practices, there are four devoted to race psychology, racial contacts, and race in world politics. The author repeatedly recurs to the significance of

* *Rassen—und Voelkerkunde, Lebensprobleme der Rassen, Gesellschaften und Voelker.* By Wilhelm Muehlmann, Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1936, pp. viii—596. RM. 48.00.

folk culture in his discussion of researches designed to show differences in racial endowment. His extensive survey of race contacts, especially of Europeans with the native peoples of the Far East, Oceania, and Africa, carries as a minor note the doctrine that the native *Volkstum* (spirit of nationality) will reassert itself, in spite of extensive cultural diffusion and adoption, provided the native stock has not been too decimated. It follows, in his view, that instead of today being the "twelfth hour" of ethnology, a new and more fruitful era of ethnological study is just dawning.

Were one disposed he could find many points of disagreement on particular matters. The final chapters are less objective than the earlier ones; Nordic enthusiasm shows itself here and there (Germany, Great Britain, and the United States are the Great Nordic nations); etc. On the whole, this is a book in which sociologists will find many interesting observations and mass of interesting facts—Frank H. Hankins (*American Sociological Review*, April, 1940).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ECONOMICS OF A DECLINING POPULATION *

Reddaway raises questions concerning the economy of England if the population of that country enters a period of long-run decline. In common with many population specialists, the author is of the opinion that a marked decline will take place in the absolute size of England's population within thirty years. He offers as an indication of this prospect the fact that the net reproductive rate in both England and Wales has already fallen below unity. Also, a sharp reduction in the specific fertility of females has far-reaching results on the age composition of the population. The author centres his analysis on the probable economic consequences of this shift in age-composition and on the reduction in absolute size of the population. The analysis is presented in terms of the effects of the predicted population changes on unemployment, both particular and general, on capital outlay, on the national income both as to size and distribution, on the need for social security payments by the govenment, and on international trade. The entire presentation presupposes the retention of a considerable degree of competition in the spheres of business and finance, a market, individual freedom to dispose of income, and no remarkable increase in income taxes or death duties.

Space forbids an itemized statement of the results which Reddaway realizes through his application of the method of economic analysis, but one must note that the author concludes that the results of the population changes on the economy of England possiby will be less serious than might be expected. None, he believes, of the anticipated problems are beyond the reach of intelligent statesmanship unless war enters the picture. This book was completed in March, 1939. Notwithstanding this ironic touch, the volume offers an extremely acute and able utilization of a method whereby social science may serve the society which hopefully nurtures it.—James H. Barnett (*American sociological Review*, April, *1940*).

* Published by Macmillan Co. New-York, 1939, Pages 270, $2.30.

PETROLEUM IN RUSSIA AND ROUMANIA

The U.S.S.R. was until last year the second petroleum producer in the world, but has now yielded that place to Venezuela. Output has increased from 21,000,000 metric tons in 1932 to 30,000,000 in 1939, but such has been the increase in domestic consumption or stocks that exports declined from 6.1 million tons in the former year to about 0.7 million tons in the latter. About three-fourths of Russian oil output in 1938 came from Azerbaijan, that is to say from the Baku field, but it is planned so to increase output from other areas by 1942 that this district will account for only 57 per cent of output. The area which it is chiefly hoped to develop is the so-called Volga-Ural district, which accounted for only 4.3 per cent of production in 1938 and which it is hoped will account for 14.7 per cent by 1942. At present nearly all Russian exports come from Poti or Batum on the Black Sea, whither the oil is piped from Baku or from Tuapse a little further north, which is connected by pipe-line to Grozni. Petrol and fuel oil made up most of the exports in 1938. Nearly half the petrol, excluding that destined for other parts of the U.S.S.R., came to the United Kingdom, and the same is true of the lubricants exported, while nearly half of the fuel oil exports went to Italy.

The third Five-Year Plan provided that the Soviet's oil production should reach 32.8 million tons in 1939 and 36.2 millions in 1940, ultimately rising to 38.5 millions in 1942. Actually the 1939 performance fell considerably below the promise, though there must now be added to Russian production some 0.4 million tons from Russian-occupied Poland which are, however, mostly consumed within that territory. Russia still imports some oil from the United States for her Far Eastern territory, this importation amounting in 1937 to about 150,000 metric tons.

Roumania is a producer whose importance has been increased since the outbreak of war, partly on account of her proximity to Germany and partly because the Allies are less willing than formerly to buy from hard currency countries, particularly the United States. Roumanian output reached its peak of 8-1/2 million metric tons in 1936, and fell to 6-1/4 million metric tons in 1939. Whether the Roumanian oil-fields are really becoming exhausted has long been a matter of controversy. The present falling off of production is attributed largely to the restrictive mining legislation, which provides no encouragement for oil companies to undertake new drilling, which might offset the natural decline of the fields already producing.

Exports in 1939 totalled 4.18 million metric tons including 1.60 million metric tons of petrol. In the months immediately before the outbreak of war the exports which consisted for the greater part of refined products, went mostly to Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia taking over 40 per cent of the petrol exports and of the small exportation of crude oil and nearly one-fourth of the gas oil, while Britain took the largest share, over 20 per cent of the lamp oil, and Italy took nearly 40 per cent of the fuel oil of which, however, less than a million tons a year were exported. In the first six months of war the Allies increased their purchases of Roumanian oil considerably, while deliveries to Germany fell off, partly no doubt owing to transport difficulties, the normal sea-route between Roumania and Germany which previously carried most of the oil between the countries having been closed by the blockade.

Roumanian production is mainly in the hands of foreign-owned companies. British and Netherlands capital controls about 40 per cent of output, French capital 17 per cent and American 12 per cent, while Roumanian firms are responsible for only 10 per cent of output. German interests have recently acquired the company Petrol Block, which owns four refineries but produces crude oil only on a very small scale. The Allied ownership of so many of the producing companies ,threatened recently to make it difficult for Roumania to deliver to Germany the 1.7 million tons of petroleum products promised under the trade agreement. The whole of the export trade of the belligerents was therefore put under the control of the Minister. Assurances were however given to Britain and France that British and French owned firms would not be forced to sell to Germany.*—Reproduced from the *Bulletin of International News* of June 29, 1940, by permission of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

* In September 1940 the situation has been changed.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Why Swadeshi ?—By M. R. Agarwal. Published by Hindusthan Emporium. Pp. 120. Price 12 Annas. 1940.

The present war will naturally give a new impetus to the Swadeshi Movement. For the insistence on indigenous articles which was once to us the last device of despairing nationalism has now worked itself into a spirited philosophy of life. What was once meant to be a safeguard against British domination could be now adopted for averting a far greater danger than has befallen even the Britishers themselves. What was once accepted as a patriotic doctrine of economic self-sufficiency ought to be now preached as the only means of escape from the fatal travail of modern industrialism. Looking at the costly miseries of opulent Europe, India will cease to lament her economic backwardness. For what metaphysical reason could she prefer the sumptuous suicide of the West to the more natural mortality of poverty and disease.

Prof. Agarwal shows how, in the midst of the universal destruction of the present age, political slavery of India appears to be a far lesser evil than it would be in a prosperous and happy world. Even if India could free herself from foreign yoke, she could scarcely escape the contagion of the times. A free India could either be an America perishing from a surfeit of gold or a China yielding to foreign greed, either a Japan vying with Western Imperialism or an England spoiled by her own riches. "Freedom will indeed ameliorate," says Prof. Agarwal, " the economic condition of India to some extent but it cannot carry her a long way. Even a cessation from the British Empire cannot change the face of facts very much and we can hardly make the people prosperous simply by sending away the British." The time is out of joint. It is neither the Caesarian dream of a Fascist dictator, nor the towering ambition of a Nazi conqueror, which is responsible for this war. But it is an avaricious and aggressive industrialism which now brings death to the world and all its woe. Machinery has brought civilization to a stage when it has to be saved by a destructive war. Combat unemployment by engaging the unemployed in killing themselves. Fight the stifling boom by conquering foreign lands. So it is unreasonable to father the blame of war on individual ambition or on national pride. It is the accumulated vices of years which have precipitated the present war. " Preparations for wars," says the learned Professor, " mean certainly war which has now caught hold of the civilisation. To discontinue building arrangements means absolute and immediate depression. This means again that the cause of economic distress is destruction." The West has begun to realise this fact. Auden and Isherwood, in their drama " Ascent of F-6," show how English foreign policy is generally dictated by the commercial magnates; and in their other drama " On the Frontier," a dictator is shown to be a toy in the hands of a princely businessman. The agonising utterances of Eric, the hero of this second drama, point to the grim inevitableness of the present war.

> " None are innocent, none.
> Causes of violence lie so deep in all our lives,
> It touches every act."

Prof. Agarwal has very convincingly proved the futility of Bolshevism which has caused much bloodshed and misery. Those who are concerned at the destructive forces of modern civilisation, will read this book with great profit and will realise the importance of Swadeshi not only for the emancipation of India but also for the salvation of mankind as a whole.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Wild Winds.—By Louis Gracias. Homiya Building, 187 Victoria Garden Road, Byculla, Bombay. Pp. 1-42. Re. 1. 1940.

M. Gracias is new to the art of book-writing, but he has ideas and initiative, and writing is familiar to him. He has put together seven of his short stories, and the name he gives to the book is justified because the personages described have a 'wildness' while the stories have little substance in them—being more in the nature of pen-pictures; "Yellow Dust," as a matter of fact, is the only story of length and substance. The execution is generally graceful, and the medium simple, the effect pleasant. The writer is on the right lines,—so the reader feels while going through the volume.

P. R. SEN

Sanātana Dharma—An Advanced Text-Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics." Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The work is one of a series of three graduated text-books on Hindu Religion and Ethics and is intended mainly for the instruction of College students in the broad, general principles of Hinduism. As the title tells us, it is the most advanced of a series of three text-books, the other two being comparatively elementary works on Hinduism suited for use in secondary and other schools. The Foreword says that the purpose of the work is to supply a sufficiently comprehensive basis for instruction in those fundamental principles of Hinduism in respect of which there is a large measure of agreement amongst all its many different sects. The main body of the work falls into three parts; Part I deals with Hindu Religious Ideas, while Parts II and III deals respectively with Hindu Religious Customs and Rites and with Hindu Ethical Principles and Teachings.

The central idea on which Sanātana Dharma is based is, according to the present work, the unity of Reality as the self of all things and for which all objects are. Reality being the self as unity, difference and individuality are false appearances which must be annulled if the unity which is lost through Maya is to be recovered once more. Hence the true or the right life is the life of peace and harmony, of love, compassion and charity, while the wrong life is the life of unrest and discord, of strife, antagonism and ill-will. The Hindu moral code, according to the present work, is founded on this central idea of Hinduism, its doctrines of Karma, of Rebirth, of Sacrifice and of Bhakti, all aiming at this essential unity of life by the annulment of the aspect of difference and discord. Thus the doctrine of sacrifice inculcates the surrender of the separate self while the doctrine of love and charity prescribes recognition of the essential oneness behind the apparent differences. The six organs (*saḍangāni*) consisting of the six

different sciences as also the six subsidiary organs (*saḍupāngāni*) consisting of the six Philosophical systems all aim at this unity as their ultimate end, not to mention the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhāgavat and the Gītā on which all the six Sciences as well as the six Philosophical systems are based.

While some of the views expressed in the work may not be acceptable to all, it cannot be denied that as a brief, yet comprehensive, account of a subject of a very wide and almost bewildering range it has succeeded beyond expectation.

S. K. MAITRA

Ourselves

[*I. The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore—Dr. S. P. Mookerjee Nominated for Election.—II. Provisional Date for Election of Fellows.—III. Senate Hall to be Used as Air Raid Hospital.—IV. Bengali Letters of the 18th Century.—V. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.—VI. Conference of University Teachers of English and of Advanced Students.—VII. Conference of the Indian Economic Association.—VIII. Griffith Memorial Prize in Letters, 1939.—IX. A New D.Sc.—X. Department of Islamic History and Culture.—XI. Our New Audit Officer.*]

I. The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore—Dr. S. P. Mookerjee Nominated for Election

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., has been nominated by our University for election by the North-Eastern Group of Universities to the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

The term of office of Dr. Mookerjee, who represents the North-Eastern Group of Universities this year also, will expire on the 31st December, 1940.

* * *

II. Provisional Date for Election of Fellows

The terms of office of the undermentioned Elected Fellows of the University will expire on the dates stated against their names:

Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy	...	13th February, 1941.
Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee	...	11th March, 1941.
Mr. Satyendranath Ray	...	22nd January, 1941.

The University has provisionally fixed the date of Election by Registered Graduates to be 7th January, 1941 subject to the approval of his Excellency the Chancellor.

* * *

III. Senate Hall to be Used as Air Raid Hospital

Our University has informed the Superintendent, Medical College Hospitals, Calcutta, in response to an enquiry made by him, that it has no objection to the Senate Hall being used as a hospital for accommo-

dation and treatment of casualties that may arise from a possible air raid on the city.

* * *

IV. Bengali Letters of the 18th Century

Our University has undertaken to publish a volume of Old Bengali Letters, one hundred in number, addressed by Ruling Princes of Upper India and some noblemen of Bengal. Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, through whom the proposal came, has obtained permission of Government to edit and publish them. These letters which are preserved in the Imperial Record Department will, apart from their historical value, prove to be of great use to students of the Bengali language. They were written in the eighteenth century and contain ample material for the study of the evolution of Bengali Prose.

* * *

V. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

The Twenty-ninth Session of the Sammelan will be held at Poona from the 25th December to the 28th December, 1940.

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the Sammelan on the occasion.

* * *

VI. Conference of University Teachers of English and of Advanced Students

Our University has promised co-operation to the Conference of University Teachers and of Advanced Students, which will be convened under the auspices of the University of Lucknow in December this year. The Conference will discuss methods of the study and teaching of English Literature and Language and will also arrange for the reading of original and critical papers on English Literature and on Philology.

* * *

VII. Conference of the Indian Economics Association

The Twenty-fourth Annual Conference of the Indian Economic Association will be held at Mysore under the auspices of the Mysore

University in the last week of December, 1940. Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., and Prof. Jitendraprasad Niyogi, M.A., Ph.D., have been appointed delegates to represent our University on this Conference.

* * *

VIII. Griffith Memorial Prize in Letters, 1939

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Letters for the year 1939 has been awarded to the following candidates:

Mr. Krishnapada Goswami, M.A.

Mr. Binaygopal Ray, M.A.

The thesis submitted by Mr. Goswami was entitled " A Study of the Bengali Toponomy " and Mr. Ray's thesis was entitled " Philosophy of Bernard Bosanquet."

* * *

IX. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Sudhirkumar Banerji, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on the recommendation of a Board of Examiners consisting of Prof. I. M. Heilborn, D.S.O., F.R.S., and Prof. Harold King, D.Sc., F.R.S., who were appointed to adjudicate upon his thesis entitled " Synthesis of Higher Torpono Compounds."

We congratulate Dr. Banerji on his success.

* * *

X. Department of Islamic History and Culture

The Department of Islamic History and Culture has started work from the present academic session with about twenty students. The Hon. Mr. Azizul Haque, M.A , B.L., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of our University, has assumed charge of this Department and Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed a temporary whole-time Lecturer to teach the subject, for which assistance is also being obtained from allied departments.

* * *

XI. Our New Audit Officer

Mr. Kalicharan Chatterjee, B.A., has been appointed Audit Officer of the University. He was formerly Deputy Assistant Controller of Military Accounts. The post was ably held by Mr. S. N. Basu, who has retired after a long period of strenuous service.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
NOVEMBER, 1940

SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY, KT.

XII

LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE *(Continued)*

FARMER'S views on Shakespeare's learning in the classics have been discussed at considerable detail in the previous issues and it has already been remarked that a close study of Farmer's thesis may be regarded rather one-sided where several other possibilities have quite been ignored. He has, indeed, based his observations mainly on quotations and misquotations of Shakespeare with a view to proving that 'Nature's favourite child' depended entirely on the translations of the classics that could be made available in England of his day. Farmer's arguments are, in fact, more tantalizing than convincing and there remain a number of flaws in them. Farmer has omitted to quote the motto of *Venus and Adonis* and has avoided an explanation of the fact that *The Rape of Lucrece* has been definitely based upon Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. The puzzle of Shakespearean scholarship thus remains unsolved even if one follows Farmer most closely and most diligently.

Naturally, therefore, we have eagerly to look for alternative suggestions and try to scrutinise them dispassionately. The positive side of the study is bound to be more speculative than the negative one, and at the very outset the reader should be warned, as he has oftentimes been, not to dive deep into the sea of speculations ; he should proceed with an unbiassed mind to enquire about the actual extent of our poet's knowledge of the classics and should avoid, of course as far as he can, the 'could have beens' and the 'might have beens.'

Shakespeare appears to be very sparing in giving direct quotations from Greek authors and has used only two Greek words, namely, misanthropos' and 'threnos.' But one must not forget that Shakespeare was after all deeply indebted to Greek writers such as Plutarch although no reliable information can be collected to show conclusively whether the poet read Greek authors in original or through the medium of English. Even most of the critics who hold our poet proficient in the classics are of opinion that Shakespeare read Greek authors—neither in the original nor in English but in Latin versions. Thus Prof. J. Churton Collins observes:

"He could almost read Latin with as much facility as a cultivated Englishman of our time reads French. With some at least of the principal Latin classics he was intimately acquainted and through the Latin language he had access to the Greek classics and in the Latin versions he had in all probability a remarkably extensive knowledge." [1]

Prof. Collins proceeds further and remarks in course of his discussions that "He must have left the school with a very competent knowledge of Latin and it may be fairly or even well-grounded in Greek." [2] In order to make out his case, namely, that Shakespeare had sufficient knowledge of Greek, Collins quoted from Sophocles and Euripides showing that coincidences of Shakespeare's ideas with those contained in the classics are something more than accidental. Collins submits chapter and verse both from Greek masters and from our poet and summarises his study in the following lines:

"When we compare many soliloquies and monologues in Shakespear's dramas with those characteristics of the Greek tragedies, we cannot fail to

[1] Fortnightly Review, 1903, p. 619.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 625.

be struck with their close resemblance in phrase and diction in colour, tone and ring." [1]

That Shakespeare had been influenced by the Greek authors, almost to the same extent as the Latin writers, can hardly be contradicted, but it is indeed difficult to explain the fact that while there are recognisable abundance of Latin quotations, in his writings, there is practically none from the former.

So far as parallelism of ideas is concerned we may safely overlook it, for it can be proved beyond doubt from ascertained facts that parallelism of ideas can be discovered in authors who have been separated by ages and distances. To cite a concrete example : Shakespeare's Adriana says in *Comedy of Errors*, [2] " Thou art an elm, my husband, a vine I," while an obscure writer of no mentionable name in a furthest corner of Bengal exclaims,

" तुमि तरु आमि लता तोमा छाड़ि आमि याइव कोथा" ।

What a resemblance of idea ! The present writer can swear that the writer who was separated from Shakespeare by a distance of several thousand miles and more than 250 years was totally innocent of Shakespeare and it is perfectly certain that he did not know his name even. The only conclusion that can be made is that Shakespeare read the Greek authors, not in their originals but in their Latin renderings. Mere influence cannot sufficiently prove that Shakespeare could follow the subject in original.

Plimpton, in his *Education of Shakespeare*, submits the facsimiles of different text-books which Shakespeare might have come across in his class room at the Free Grammar School of Stratford-on-Avon and strains his nerves to show that the bard of Avon was sufficiently learned in the classical tongues—more particularly Latin. Plimpton remarks that " H. R. D. Anders, in *Shakespear's Books*, gives many quotations from Shakespeare whence the inference may justly be drawn that Lily's Latin Grammar was the one Shakespeare studied." As to a glimpse in Shakespeare's school career Plimpton conjectures after Anders that Shakespeare was taught for two years by Walter Roche, five years by Samuel Hunt, and possibly by Thomas Jenkins, masters of the school at Stratford, all University men. The first book put into his hands was a ' hornbook,' in support of which Plimpton makes

[1] Fortnightly Review, 1903.
[2] Act II, Sc. 2.

conjecture that "In Shakespeare's plays there are two familiar references to the hornbook:

Brag. Monsier, are you not lettred ?

Page. Yes, yes, he teaches boyes the Horne booke:
What is Ab speld backward with the horn on his head?

(*Loues Labour's Lost*, IV, (1F) *i.e.* V, line 49)

Clar. .....He hearkens after Prophesies and Dreams,
And from the Crosse-row pluckes the letter G:
And sayes, a wizard told him, that by G,
His issue disinherited should be.

(*Richard III*, 1, line 56) "

At a slightly later stage, generally in the third year, the students as we have already referred to were drilled into some good manuals of School conversation. Corderius's *Dialogues* was one such manual. Corderius, born in 1479, was a teacher of John Calvin and undertook to write a text-book for Grammar School pupils at an age of eightyfive years. It may be found interesting to read a specimen of dialogues and a part of a lively one, as quoted by Plimpton:

Colloquy LXVIII

A.	Adfuistíne *concione sacræ* hodie?	Were you present at *the sermon today?*
B.	Adfui.	I was present.
A.	Quis *habuit concionem?*	Who *preached the sermon* ?
B.	Dominus N...	Mr. N...
A.	Quotâ horâ *incepit* ?	At what hour *did he begin?*
B.	Septimâ.	At the seventh.
A.	Unde *sumpsit* thema?	Whence *took he* his Text?
B.	Ex Epistolâ *Pauli* ad Romanos.	Out of the Epistle *of Paul* to the Romans.
A.	Quoto capite?	What chapter?
B.	Octavo.	The Eighth.
A.	Respondisti *adhuc* bene: *nunc* videamús quid sequatur? *Ecquid mandâsti* memoriæ?	You have answered yet well: now let us see what may follow: *Have you committed any Thing* to memory?
B.	Nihil *quod* possum *referre.*	Nothing *that* I can *say.*

A.	Nihil ! *cogita* paulisper, *et* vide *ne turberis* quin *esto* bono animo.	Nothing ! *think* a little, *and* see *you be no disturbed,* but *be* of good courage.
B.	Certè *possum* reminisci *nihil.*	Indeed I *can* remember *nothing.*
A.	No verbum quidem ?	Not so much as a Word ?
B.	Nihil prorsus.	Nothing at all.
A.	Hem *verbero* ! Quid *profecisti* igitur ?	Ho *you rogue* ! what *have you profited* then ?
B.	Nescio, *nisi* quod abstinui fortasse *interim* à malis.	I know not, *but* that *I have abstained* perhaps *in the mean time* from evil Things.

In order to familiarise the reader with the recent trend of the problem the present writer would like to quote, though a bit lengthy, the conclusion drawn by Plimpton who has studied the subject very critically within the last few years.[1] Plimpton observes :

"The pedagogical books, the course of studies, the text books, the instruction by three University graduates, give one a splendid idea of what the Stratford Grammar School was like at the time Shakespeare entered it. The basis of instruction was Latin, for that language was the key to all knowledge. During those years no time was spent on modern history, geography, French or German or ' nature study,' the child went a long way in Latin language and literature, so that a boy's knowledge of the classics was better than that of the average College graduates in America now.

" This was the same sort of education as that given to Chaucer Spenser, Bacon and even Milton, in their school-days. The plays of Shakespeare are full of classical allusions, all of which might refer to what he learned in Stratford and in his subsequent readings of his contemporaries. It seems to me that Shakespeare's brief schooling must have resulted in considerably more learning than the layman has credited him with.

" His education, however, cannot account for his success. It contributed something, it was a solid foundation, a preparation for further study; but although others, indeed very many, have the same opportunities, yet we have only one Shakespeare."

We have already cited, in our previous contributions on the problem, a number of passages from Shakespeare's writings, to show

[1] Plimpton's work, *viz.*, *The Education of Shakespeare,* is dated 1933. Plimpton has got a fine collection of manuscripts and books used in schools in different ages. The present study of his is based mainly upon this collection.

that the poet was in the habit of quoting frequently direct from Latin—a fact which has been claimed by many to demonstrate clearly his knowledge of the language. Others have clearly warned us to accept facts with an open mind. Mere quotations from the classics in various Shakespearean productions cannot convince one that he had been very well-read in original Latin or Greek. The reasons are obvious. John Taylor, the water poet, confesses himself that he never learned his accidence and that Latin and French were to him 'Heathen-Greek,' but still if quotations be regarded as criteria to test one's knowledge in a particular language the water poet could be regarded as fairly well up in the classics.

The present writer had to read Latin, French and Sanskrit when he was preparing himself for the London Matric. (1880-82), and had to go through Latin Grammar, Accidence and a few books of *Odes of Horace* as also pieces of easy Latin prose. Even now (*i.e.*, after an interval of 60 years) he can repeat from memory passages from *Odes of Horace*.[1]

[1] A few lines from the *Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist* (the autobiography of the present writer) may indicate the circumstances under which he studied Latin and French. This will convince one of the present writer's passable knowledge in those tongues :

"Here I must relate an incident which not only gave a colour to but destined to be a turning point in my future career. One day looking over the shelves of our Library, I chanced upon a copy of Smith's *Principia Latina*; evidently it had been picked up by my eldest brother, who was a book hunter at a second hand book-shop but was lying unused. On turning over the first few pages, I was filled with an agreeable surprise. At the bottom of the declension of each substantive commencing with *e. g. mensa, mensæ, dominus, domini* and so forth, was given a list of nouns of masculine or feminine gender as the case may be coming under the same category and one or two verbs of unknown (to beginners) conjunction, but with the meaning attached, thus *habit* (he, she, it) has, *occidit* (he killed). The formation of the sentences and their meanings now became clear; *e. g.*, *aquila alas habet* (the eagle has wings), *dominus hastâ servum occidit* (the lord killed the slave with the spear). Since I had already gone through *Vyakarana Upakramanika* (the first step to Sanskrit Grammar) of Iswarchandra Vidyasagar I could not but be struck with the wonderful similarity between the two dead languages. The sentence : *Recuperatâ pace, artes efflorescunt* (peace being restored, the arts flourish) given as an illustration of the ablative absolute, which has its exact counterpart in Sanskrit, simply filled me with wonder. At that early age I could not, of course, be expected to know all about the remarkable affinity between the two languages derived from the same parent stock as explained in, say, "Grimm's Law," *Bopp's Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. The die was cast. The determination was made and no sooner made than was carried into execution. Here was a golden opportunity of learning Latin without the help of a teacher. I began to con the lessons in the *Principia* with renewed interest and it did not take me long to finish first part of the *Principia*, which in due course was followed by part second of the series as also the companion grammar," pp. 35-36.

"I had gained as I have already said a passable acquaintance with Latin and French by my own unaided efforts and Sanskrit I learnt as a matter of course—the first seven cantos of *Raghuvansam* and the first five of *Bhattikavyam* were text for the F.A., also in my private capacity with the aid of a Pandit I tasted the beauties of some cantos of another peerless production of Kalidasa, the *Kumarasambhavam*. I had by now begun to cherish the hope of competing for the Gilchrist scholarship examination, the standard for which was the same as that of the London University Matriculation and for which a fair acquaintance with Latin, Greek or Sanskrit, French or German was essential." pp. 48.

Undoubtedly it is a fact that Shakespeare quoted freely from the classics—a fact that can never convince us of his proficiency in those tongues. This simply leads us to believe that Shakespeare had a passable knowledge of Latin; his smattering of the tongue combined with his unusual zeal and power of assimilation imparted in him a singular capacity of quoting whatever bit he could gather from the Scriptures. This is why Shakespeare adhered to the practice of double reading as we find him doing in the *Tempest*.[1]

To summarise the whole theme: The present writer would like to impress upon his readers that it cannot be believed that Shakespeare was innocent of Latin, as some critics hold; neither it can be asserted that Shakespeare was a scholar or at least a well-read student of the classics, as the rival school claims. Yes, Shakespeare knew Latin only up to a school-boy standard, and in Greek he was as poor as in Hebrew. Throughout his later career—a career which he could eke out in London over the famous 'Wooden O'—he could rarely had time and opportunity of studying an old and dead language. His natural wit and facile pen could not be burdened and bound with scraps of Latin, and while he could follow Latin pretty well, by virtue of his Grammar School education, he was no scholar in the tongue.

Let us now direct our attention to Shakespeare's knowledge of French and Italian the two Continental tongues which were gradually developing into what can be called the language of literature. French, Italian and Spanish are languages of Latin origin and can be mastered comparatively easily by one who has a fair knowledge of Latin. In this sense our poet's environments were quite helpful. In the early days of Renaissance, as has already been remarked, French and Italian were fast developing into what may be called the language of literature and it is in the fitness of things that we should devote the following pages to discuss how far our poet could read, understand and write these languages.

In *Henry V* Shakespeare's Archbishop of Canterbury quotes, "In terram Salicam muliers ne succedent," which means, "No woman shall succeed in Salique land."[2] The quotation is found to be taken almost verbatim from Holinshed and does not, therefore, prove adequately that the poet had a fair knowledge of French or Latin.

[1] *Cf.* Ovid's lines "Auræque et venti . . . . . etc." with those of Golding's translations and Shakespeare's adaptation of them in the speech assigned to Prospero. The outlines have been furnished in *Calcutta Review*, October, 1940, p. 7.

[2] Act I, Sc. II.

Again, in this play Shakespeare commits another blunder of a Latin term when he puts into the mouth of his Exeter " . . . . Shall name your highness in this form and with this addition, in French, Notre très-cher fils Henri, roi d'Angleterre, hèritier de France ; and thus in Latin, Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus, rex Angliæ, et hærs Franciæ." Præclarissimus is a misprint for Præcarissiums, creeping directly from Holinshed into Shakespeare, and this blunder was copied by Holinshed from the second edition of Hall's *Chronicles* where the Precharissimus or ' most dear ' of the first edition became Preclarissimus,' or the ' most famous.'

In his play Shakespeare has composed an entire scene, a scene where the English monarch is wooing the princess of France, in broken French, and another lengthy scene of more than 50 lines in chaste French, evidently to offer a humorous relief to the audiences. How can it be accepted, then, that Shakespeare could read nothing except his mother tongue, and whatever acquaintance he could gain of any foreign language he picked that up from the English renderings of the originals. In his attempt to speak in French to a French maid Henry pronounces straight, " I will tell thee in French ; which I am sure will hang upon my tongue like a new married wife about her husband's neck, hardly to be shook off. Je quaad son le possession de France, et quand vous avez le possession de moi,—let me see what then ? Saint Denis be my speed ! ponc votre est France et vous etes mienne. It is as easy for me, Kate, to conquer the kingdom, as to speak so much for French; I shall never move thee in French, unless it be to laugh at me." [1]

It has been definitely established that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* had been based not upon the English translation of the Danish prince's story in Scandinavian tongue for it appeared sometime in 1608, but upon the French version of the same.[2]

From the legal documents preserved in the Public Record Office, C. W. Wallace presents an interesting evidence which goes to show that our poet used to put up with a French family, namely, that of Christopher Mountjoy, an wigmaker, during the years 1602 and 1604 and was a prominent figure in negotiating a marriage between the

1. Act V, Sc. II.
2. The original story of Hamlet was rendered from *Saxo Grammaticus* into French by Belleforeste and was termed *Histoires Trageques*. The English version had been named *Hystorie of Hamblet*.

wigmaker's daughter and one of his apprentices, Stephon Bellot. This formed the subject-matter of litigation in 1612 in which Shakespeare had to be examined as a material witness. If anybody takes this into serious consideration, Shakespeare's knowledge of French would naturally be the only conclusion which one can draw from it, and from this set of evidence the present writer would like to conclude that our poet could read and write and talk French quite freely. Neilson and Thorndike put it like the following:

"He (Shakespeare) was thus acquainted with the three greatest French writers of his century (Montaigne, Rabelais and Ronsard), and French may well have been the medium through which he reached authors in other languages." [1]

As regards Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian Mr. Brown declares that Shakespeare's characters have often been penned with such exactitude of the details of Italian life that the critic is sure of Shakespeare's travels in Italy and of his knowledge of the language of that country. It needs hardly to be mentioned here that many of Shakespeare's plays have their scenes located in Italy and that the topography of the land has, in almost every case, been described with such accuracy that it is difficult to disbelieve that our poet had actually been to the peninsula. The hiatus in Shakespeare's career extending over a period of 5 or 6 years have been filled with all sorts of incredulous stories and as it is not the intention of the present writer to take up the contradictory theories that have been put forward by different schools of critics, the puzzle is left out for the present. What we are concerned with is the query whether Shakespeare had any knowledge of Italian or not. In *Winter's Tale* Shakespeare speaks very enthusiastically of the Italian sculptor-painter Julio Romano and refers to his sculpture, and describes the statue of *Harmione* as his work. But there has appeared a lot of trouble to explain why and how our author could assign a statue to Romano. This could not be very easily explained to the posterity until there were discovered two epitaphs in Vassaris' works. It must be clearly mentioned here that this reference to Romano has not come from the source Novel of Greene which Shakespeare handled. Thus it is indeed Shakespearean and Elze in his *Essays on Shakespeare* definitely observes that "Shakespeare

[1]. Facts about Shakespeare, p. 57. Portions bracketted are ours.

must therfore have been a perfect master both of the Italian and Latin languages, to have made use of the work and epitaphs."

Let us conclude the discussion with the following quotation from Boas:

"Several plays (of our poet) contain a considerable amount of French dialogue, and both Italian and Spanish phrases are scattered here and there through his work. Good reason has further been shown crediting the dramatist with the knowledge of works which he could only have read in the original, *e.g.*, Rabelais, Giordauo, Bruno, and Montaigne (previous to the publication of Florio's version in 1603).[1]

(To be continued)

[1] *Shakespeare and His Predecessors*, pp. 111, foot-note.

THE NORTH-WESTERN QUESTION OF INDIAN HISTORY (1798-1830)

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JUST as there has been an Eastern question in Europe, so has there been a veritable North-Western question in Indian history. It has been largely concerned with the relations of the British Government in India with the countries situated on its north-western frontier.

In India, this question arose with the rise of Napoleon's power in Europe.

It is a matter of common knowledge how in the late 17th and the early half of the 18th century, the horizon of Indian politics was marked by a mutual conflict for territorial supremacy between the English East India Company and the French East India Company. This conflict came to a close in 1763, with the not altogether unexpected defeat of the French in the famous Carnatic Wars. The withdrawal of the French from the Indian stage left free scope for the English East India Company, and unhindered and unimpeded by any rival, it continued to proceed on its way of conquest, having succeeded by the end of the 18th century in becoming master of the whole of Eastern Provinces as far as Allahabad, in addition to large territories in Bombay and Madras.

Although thus worsted in the struggle, apparently the French did not quite so easily forget the country, of which they had at one time hoped to become complete masters. Generation after generation was brought up on the stories of the great wealth and vast treasures of India : and it is, therefore, no wonder that more than two generations after the defeat and withdrawal of the French East India Company from the Indian waters, Napoleon again started dreaming of a possible invasion and the conquest of India, this time not by means of the navy, in which Napoleon knew, from experience, the British people to be very strong, but by means of land forces, working their way through the north-west passes of India—a traditional line of Indian attack.

Modern military historians of Great Britain are very fond of emphasising the utter folly of such a military conception. They point out

that although 'from the small-scale maps then in use, Napoleon thought that the shortest route to India was *via* Baku, across the Caspian Sea to Astrabad Bay and thence through Astrabad, Meshed and Herat,' yet it would be quite clear from a consultation of large scale maps to-day that 'the idea of a possible invasion of India from this land route was somewhat foolish, for there lie on the way the immense barren tracts of both Persia and Afghanistan.' But they conveniently forget two things: (1) that Napoleon's might, at that time, was supposed to be so strong that he was considered as well-nigh invincible, a fact which has a high psychological significance, and (2) that vast military exploits like this have been achieved in the history of the world none too rarely, even in fairly recent times.

Whatever, however, the verdict of the present British historians, whose interest is above all to impress the greatness of British power and who habitually look at things from that perspective alone, there is no doubt that to the statesmen of that time, both in England as well as in India, there seemed to be nothing impossible for Napoleon's designs. As soon, therefore, as Napoleon's ambition became known, the British Government in India began to get agitated about the need of a north-western frontier of India, as a possible bulwark and protection against Napoleon's advance, and began to feel interested in forming a definite north-western policy and a system of alliances whereby the tide of Napoleon's ambitions upon India might be successfully checked.

A.

First Phase

Even during the later part of the 18th century, the Government of India had evinced some interest in making friendships with the northern countries. Warren Hastings had sent two missions to Tibet, but the interest of these overtures had been primarily commercial. The envoy, Bogle (1774-75), had been positively indifferent to everything but trade: far from any interest in things political and military, he even refused a map of Tibet proffered by a friendly Lama. "I considered," he wrote, "the Company could have no interest in this country but that of commerce, and that to know a number of outlandish names or to correct the geography of Tibet, although a matter of great curiosity and extremely interesting to eographers and map-sellers, could be of

no use to my constituents or indeed to mankind in general, and that to this I might be sacrificing objects of greater importance."

This complacency of the British Government could not, indeed, last in the face of the Napoleonic danger, and accordingly we find that in the closing years of the 18th century, the British Government not only shows a vital political interest within the sphere of its operations, but is actually bent upon extending that sphere as far as possible towards the north-west. It was in 1798 that the Calcutta Council got information of the activity of French diplomacy in the East, and particularly in Persia ; and on the 13th February, 1799, the Governor-General is found expressing himself in such definite terms as that " the aim of the British policy should now be the exclusion of the French, especially if they should make any attempt to penetrate through Persia to Hindustan, and the establishment of such a continual source of apprehension to Zaman Shah on the borders of his own dominion as shall effectually preclude his future projects of advancing towards Hindustan.'* This, in a brief sentence, sums up the whole policy of the British Government in the north-west in the closing years of the 18th and the first decade of the 19th century.

B

Let us explain it a little at length.

It was in 1739 that Nadir Shah, after having become the ruler of Persia, made an invasion of Hindustan, came as far as Delhi, and defeated the Mughal Emperor. He had thus succeeded in becoming overlord of the whole of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Sind—that is to say, the whole *bloc* of north-western territories intervening between Persia and the river Jumna. Eight years later in 1747, Nadir had been murdered, and another adventurer, Ahmad Shah Abdali, had risen to wrest the eastern provinces of Nadir's vast empire from the hands of his successors. The Durranis, Ahmad Shah's successors, therefore, became masters of Afghanistan as well as overlords of the Indian provinces of the Punjab and Sind. In the case of Sind, although Nadir Shah in 1739 and Ahmad Shah Abdali after his death had claimed overlordship, yet the old rulers of Sind had been allowed to continue: in course of time they became virtually

* Wellesley to Duncan, 13th Feb., 1799. Wellesley Despatches (Martin Montgomery), Vol I, p. 433.

independent, so much so that in 1783 there was a change of dynasties, the Kaloras being then dispossessed by the Talpuri Amirs, and the nominal overlord did not even move a finger to save his vassal. So far as the Punjab is concerned, the subordination to the Afghan ruler had been even more thin, and was later to be completely shattered by the rise of Ranjit Singh. In 1799, however, the Punjab was under a nominal suzerainty, but was the home of constant internecine warfare.

To the British Government, therefore, at this time there was a double fear, (1) that Persia might allow her policy to be controlled by Napoleon, and (2) that the Afghan ruler, Zaman Shah (grandson of Ahmad Shah), might think of invading his traditional Indian possessions of Sind and the Punjab. Against this twofold fear, the British Government could safeguard by making an alliance with Persia. As a result of such an alliance the Napoleonic influence in Persia might be checked, as well as the danger of an Afghan invasion of India be prevented by advising a Persian attack of Afghanistan and thus creating sources of danger and apprehension on the Afghan frontier itself. The main object of British north-west policy in 1799, therefore, was at all costs to conclude a treaty of friendship with Persia, even at the point of incurring " a cost of two to three lacs of rupees "* in the negotiation.

C

The important task of concluding a treaty with Persia was entrusted to Mehdi Ali Khan, a naturalised Persian and at that time the Company's resident at Bushire. He repaired to and was received at the Court of Persia in the autumn of 1799. At that time, the relations between Persia and Afghanistan were none too friendly. The Afghan king; Zaman Shah, had expressed a desire for the conquest of Khorasan; while the Persian king was contemplating the raising of Persia to its former glory under Nadir Shah. Mehdi Ali Khan was a clever diplomat: he took advantage of this tension between Persia and Afghanistan, and manouvred the continuance of this mutual hostility.

But Mehdi Ali Khan was much too enthusiastic and indiscreet for the position of a permanent diplomat. He told the Persian king

* Bombay Political and Secret Consultations, dated 17th Feb., 1799.

vastly exaggerated stories of the atrocities of Zaman Shah, and excelled even the Persian's imagination by narrating how 700 English soldiers had defeated the army of Siraj-ud-Dawla of three hundred thousand men. Lord Wellesley, not unnaturally, considered that he was not 'a proper person to be entrusted with the sole management of measures of so important and delicate a nature.'*

Thus even before the news of the success of Mehdi Ali Khan's mission had reached Calcutta, Lord Wellesley had decided to send Capt. Malcolm to the Persian court. Malcolm was a young Bombay military officer, but had already evinced great abilities, had a good knowledge of Persian, and was therefore considered a suitable person for this important task. He came to Teheran with a large amount of wealth under his control. The ground had already been prepared by Mehdi Ali Khan, and almost immediately, a political and commercial treaty was concluded between Malcolm and Haji Ibrahim, the Vizier of Persia. Under this treaty, the Shah undertook not to make peace with the ruler of Afghanistan unless the latter renounced his designs on Hindustan, and the British envoy, on his side, undertook to supply munitions of war to the Shah, should he be attacked by the French or the Afghans. There were also stringent provisions for the expulsion and extirpation of any French subjects who might wish to settle in Persia. The commercial part of the Treaty stipulated that the English and the Indian merchants should be allowed to settle at the ports without obligation to pay taxes, and that the English broadcloth, iron, steel, and lead should be admitted to Persia duty free.

Malcolm's mission was, thus, to all appearance immediately successful ; but it has been regarded by Rawlinson† as 'in fact a failure,' for it revealed to the Persians, who in these matters possess very keen political acumen, the British anxiety about the 'road' to India, and the Persians were not slow to take advantage of this knowledge.

As a diplomatic courtesy, the Persian king sent an embassy, headed by Haji Khalil Khan, to India in 1802. In the course of a quarrel, which unfortunately arose between his servants and the guards that attended him, the ambassador was killed. The British Government was naturally aghast at such an incident and made handsome

* See Martin Montgomery : Wellesley's despatches, Vol. II, p. 111.
† See Rawlinson : England and Russia in the East.

amends to the Shah, who is reported to have said that more ambassadors could be killed on these terms.* Three years later, another ambassador, Agha Nabi Khan, brother-in-law of the late envoy, was sent as the representative of the Shah; but he met a very cool and indifferent reception at the hands of the British Government. By this time the alarm of the French invasion had subsided. With the disastrous conclusion of the French campaigns in Egypt and Syria, the British Government had ceased to be frightened of the French bogey, and accordingly they evinced less interest in Persia; so that the envoy returned to his country in 1807.† It need hardly be said that this indifference of the British Government, actuated by a lack of foresight and utter disregard of the new developments that were taking place in the European situation, by reasons of the *rapprochment* between France and Russia, had soon to be greatly deplored. We shall return to that a little later.

Meanwhile, we must concern ourselves with the second aspect of the British policy. We noticed earlier that one danger to the British Government was from the French and the other from the Afghan ruler. Against this twofold danger the Persian Treaty had been concluded as a safeguard. But to protect against the French danger doubly, it was felt that something ought to be done to incite the Amirs of Sind also to protest against the formal overlordship of the Afghan ruler. In the Punjab at this time there was no unity of government: that is why the British Government confined its attention to Sind. In 1798, Nathan Crow was sent as a political and commercial agent from Bombay, with instructions (*a*) to arrange for the establishment of a commercial factory at Thatta, and (*b*) to 'keep an eye' on the movements of Zaman Shah and to incite as many enemies to him in the country of Sind and other districts in that vicinity, more or less dependent on that Government, as possible.....by offering to those parties such aid as they may require of us, in military store, or such other mode as you might deem at the time more operative on their inclination provided that we stood not thereby committed to any aid either by the active service of troops in so remote a quarter or by the payment of a subsidy.‡

* See Kaye: Life of John Malcolm, Vol. I, pp. 178-195.

† See Note by Edmonstone, dated 10th January, 1807. Factory records (Persia), Vol. 31.

‡ Duncan to Crow, dated 8th May, 1799. Bombay Political & Secret Consultations, 1799, p. 2879.

Crow's mission was cordially received by the principal Amirs of Hyderabad, and in 1800 the English were allowed to erect commercial establishments both at Thatta and at Karachi. But Zaman Shah jeaously objected to the presence of the English so close to the Afghan frontier and succeeded in playing on the prejudice of the Amirs and persuading them to compel Crow to leave and to disband the British factories at Thatta and Karachi. Crow was withdrawn in November, 1800. But the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens between the English and the French, by dispelling the fear of a French invasion of India, prevented any action by the British Government on this admittedly high-handed action of the Amirs.

D

Second Phase

The peace of Amiens, as is quite well known to all students of European history, was hardly a peace at all. It was at best merely a truce, and even while it continued the activity of the French government in furtherance of its policy went on. Above all, the French did not slacken in their desire to influence the court of Persia.

In this object, they were helped by one circumstance At the beginning of the 19th century Persia was engaged in a prolonged sanguinary conflict with Russia, in which she had on the whole had the worse of it. In 1804 she suddenly changed her tactics, and struck at Russia by cutting off her supplies and catching hold of and murdering the Russian General. As a consequence, the Persians had hardly anything to expect from Russia but a great invasion of vengeance, and therefore started to look for help all around. It was in this extremity that Agha Nabi Khan had undertaken his journey to India. The British Government in India could have won Persia's gratitude by extending their help, but they referred the question instead to the Court of St. James, and the Cabinet decided that no action should be taken. This decision was understood by the Shah as being tantamount to a termination of his alliance with the British, and he naturally turned to France.

The first French agent who arrived at Teheran was Col. Romier ; but since the decision of the British Government had not been known then, he did not receive a very cordial welcome. He died, however, soon after his arrival in 1805. But when his successor, Monsieur

Caubert, reached Teheran in the following spring, the news of the British decision had arrived, and therefore he was received with open arms. As a result of negotiations, Napoleon gave the Shah to understand that he was prepared to lend him the maximum of assistance for an invasion of Hindustan. The Shah, in his helplessness, was naturally prepared to listen, and a permanent French embassy was established in Persia.

When the British Government, both in London and Calcutta, awoke to the seriousness of the French machinations in Persia, they found in that country, in flourishing existence, an important French embassy under General Gardenne, handsomely staffed with civil and military officers and engineers, surveying the harbours of the Gulf, and busily instructing the native officers in the casting of armour. Originally the treaty between France and Persia had been concluded as a protection against the aggression of Russia on Persia. But now a new colour was given to this treaty by the conclusion, in July, 1807, of an alliance between Napoleon and Alexander of Russia at Tilsit, so that now the purpose became a joint invasion of Hindustan by a confederate army of France and Russia on the plains of Persia and there subsidised by the Persian forces.

It is possible that this change in circumstances would have served to weaken the alliance between France and Persia. After all, Persia had sought for France's help primarily against Russia, for the recovery of Georgia. Surely, with the conclusion of the Treaty of Tilsit between France and Russia, Persia's hope for the recovery of Georgia must have been shattered. She must have realised that her real support would naturally come from the enemies rather than from the friends of Russia.

E

But the British Government, both in Great Britain and in India, was terribly un-nerved at the prospect of a tripartite alliance between France, Russia, and Persia, the more so in Great Britain than in India. British administrators in India took, on the whole, a cooler view of the danger ; and the greatest anxiety was shown by administrators, like Lords Wellesley and Minto, who had arrived fresh from Great Britain. In 1807 Lord Minto came as the Governor-General ofIndia, and he at once expedited the policy of sending a mission to Persia in order to conclude a treaty with the Shah. At the same

time, missions were dispatched to the other intermediate territorial powers, situated between Persia and the British Indian frontiers—the Punjab, Sind, and Afghanistan. A serious danger needed a serious remedy. Therefore nothing was to be left to chance. Amity and friendship with all provinces and countries must be cemented, and the greatest possible bulwark must be raised against the French danger of invasion. It was early in 1808 that Malcolm set out on his second mission to Persia. In July of the same year Captain Seton was dispatched to the Amirs of Sind. In September, Elphinstone started for Kabul, and in October, Metcalfe for Lahore. Hardly anything has ever been attempted in Indian history to match this grandiose diplomatic effort.

It will be interesting to study in a little detail what success these various missions met with.

F

Persia

The target of the strongest attack was Persia, and it is no wonder that efforts for winning over Persia to friendship were made from a double front. At the same time when Malcolm started on his mission to Persia, a diplomatist had also started from Great Britain on the same objective. This diplomatist was Sir Harford Jones, who was sent by the British Cabinet in London to proceed to Teheran *via* St. Petersburg, enlisting there the sympathies of the Czar. But even before he could commence his journey, the conclusion of the Treaty of Tilsit shattered all hopes of gaining Russian sympathies against Napoleon, and therefore he ultimately sailed direct for Bombay, reaching there about the same time as Malcolm was departing. As was only reasonable and wise in the circumstances, he decided to wait at Bombay, allowing Malcolm a free hand in negotiations with Persia.

It was on the 10th of May that Malcolm reached Bushire. He had gone on his mission with high hopes of success, which he triumphantly expressed in a letter to Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras. But he had misjudged the hold of France over Persia. In any case, his attitude was more dictatorial than placatory, and as things were, he could not but fail. He had gone laden with presents and with unlimited money at his command, which he showered with

such great liberality that it served only to check the progress of his negotiations, by showing to the Persians the great value that the British Government put on the Persian alliance. On reaching Bushire, he sent Captain Pasley to the court at Teheran ; but instead of being allowed to proceed directly to Teheran, Capt. Pasley was detained at Shiraz, and there received by the lesser dignitaries of the Court. That kind of reception given to Pasley annoyed Malcolm very much, who had once been *persona grata* in Persia, and he decided at once to return to Calcutta. His ire was so great that on reaching India he strongly advised Lord Minto to a course of action that would involve a British military demonstration in the Persian Gulf and the occupation of the island of Karrak.

Luckily for the British Government, however, the occasion did not arise for the following of Malcolm's admittedly stupid advice. On the first news of Malcolm's failure, Lord Minto had asked Sir Harford Jones to proceed to Teheran, and although soon after he seems to have changed his mind and written to Sir Harford to continue to stay, Sir Harford had already sailed in obedience to the first instruction. He landed at Bushire on the 14th of October—a highly opportune time for success. Napoleon was, at this time, experiencing reverses in Spain, and accordingly the French influence in Persia had begun to wane. General Gardenne had left Teheran even before Sir Hardford Jones reached Persia. In these circumstances, there was no difficulty at all in negotiating a preliminary treaty between Persia and the Court of St. James.

In this treaty* which was drawn up in March, 1809, the Shah of Persia declared all other engagements void, and undertook not to permit any European force to pass through Persia 'either towards India or the other parts of that country.' He further undertook, in the event of the British dominion in India being attacked or invaded by the Afghans or any other power, to 'afford a force for the protection of the said dominion.' On behalf of the British government it was stated that His Britannic Majesty should afford to the Shah 'a force or in lieu of it a subsidy with warlike ammunition, such as guns, muskets, etc., and officers, to the amount that might be to the advantage of both parties, for the expulsion of the force so invading.'

* See Aitchison : Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads, Vol. XIII, pp. 54-55.

This preliminary treaty was taken to England by Morier, accompanied by a Persian ambassador, and was ratified. Sir Harford Jones was named as the Resident Minister at the court of Teheran.

G

Kabul

Elphinstone's mission proceeded through Bikaner, Bahawalpur, and Multan, and reached Peshawar on 25th February, 1809. The hospitality of King Shuja-ul-Mulk was profuse, and Elphinstone formed a very favourable impression of the character of the Afghan monarch, at the same time affable and reserved.

In the beginning, the envoy was instructed* to recieve proposals from the King of Kabul of assistance in the case of an invasion of British India by the concerted action of the French and the Persians, in return for which the British Government 'would not hesitate to adopt any plan of hostility against Persia consonant to the views of the King of Kabul.' Elphinstone was, however, cautioned against committing his government in any way: he was advised rather to draw the King of Kabul to an attitude of confidence in the British and impress upon him that the way of peace within his empire and in the countries adjoining it lay in the breaking up of the alliance between the court of Teheran and those of St. Petersburg and Paris. As the negotiations proceeded, however, the course of affairs in Europe changed appreciably, so that Elphinstone was informed that he might modify his policy accordingly, that he might no longer seek for an offensive alliance against Persia, but that he might negotiate only for defensive action, should that be necessary to retain the good will of the Afghan King, or avoid even that, if possible.

It was on this basis that the final treaty was concluded and ratified by the Governor-General. It settled *inter alia* that the two contracting parties bind themselves to take active measures to repel the Franco-Persian confederacy, the British 'holding themselves liable to afford the expenses necessary for the above-mentioned service, to the extent of their ability.' Eternal friendship was declared between the two states, and they agreed in no manner to interfere in each

* See Letter of Instruction to Elphinstone, 19th Aug., 1808, Bengal Secret Consultations, 23rd August, 1808.

other's countries, and it was also stipulated that the King should not admit any individual French person to enter his territories.*

H

Punjab

The Punjab had been, in the last quarter of the 18th century, under the suzerainty of Zaman Shah; but his power had gradually waned, and a new central power arose under the rule of Ranjit Singh, comprising all territory between the Sutlej and the Indus. Across the Sutlej, the Marathas had been supplanted by the British, who had extended their active sovereignty as far as the Jumna, so that between the frontiers of active British sovereignty and the Sikh territories under Ranjit Singh, there remained fitted as a wedge the small cis-Sutlej Phulkian principalities.

When Lord Minto came as the Governor-General, he was faced with the difficulty of having to decide whether he should allow Ranjit Singh to form a strongly welded empire by conquering the cis-Sutlej states, or he should support the cis-Sutlej chieftains against the encroachments of Ranjit Singh. It was while this difficulty was still unsolved that Metcalfe proceeded on the mission to Ranjit Singh. He crossed the Sutlej on 1st September, 1808, and met the Maharaja on the 11th at Kasur. Negotiations with Ranjit Singh were difficult in any case: he was very shrewd and diplomatic, alternately courteous and quarrelsome. But they were particularly difficult in the circumstances, as Ranjit Singh wanted, above all, to be allowed a free hand in the cis-Sutlej states. In October, he actually crossed the Sutlej, siezed some small fortresses and generally intimidated the Sikh chiefs between the Sutlej and the Jumna.

Metcalfe informed the Governor-General of this state of affairs, and there was a hot debate in the Calcutta Council whether Metcalfe should be asked to withdraw and the action of Ranjit Singh treated as an affront to the British Government, or, as Elphinstone suggested, the negotiations should be limited to defensive measures against the French alone and the question of cis-Sutlej States shelved for the time being altogether. Lord Minto, however, was in favour of strong action. He wrote a minute in which he emphasised that although it was

* See Aitchison, Vol. XIII, p. 223.

certainly desirable to secure the friendship of Ranjit Singh, yet it was doubtful whether an alliance with him would be of really sufficient value as a determining factor against French invasion, while it was clear that the extension of his dominions in the east would be highly prejudicial to British interests.*

While these prolonged diplomatic discussions were going on, Col. Ochterlony was dispatched by the British Government to the neighbourhood of Ludhiana in case it might be necessary to advance against the Sikhs. He had also been invested with political authority, and on the 9th February, 1809, he issued a proclamation calling upon the Sikh ruler to withdraw his troops to the farther side of the Sutlej. This proclamation, which was indirectly tantamount to extending British protection to all the cis-Sutlej principalities was agreed to by Ranjit Singh with a certain amount of reluctance, natural in the circumstances.

There was one other stipulation that Ranjit Singh had been asking for: he was desirous that the British Government should pledge itself not to interfere with his designs upon Kabul. Regarding this question, Metcalfe was instructed that 'were Ranjit Singh to conclude engagements with Britsh Government in the true spirit of unanimity and confidence, we could not concede to any proposition on the part of Kabul injurious to his interests: uncombined with such engagements that question cannot form an article of agreement between this Government and the Raja of Lahore.'

At this time, Ranjit Singh received information that Napoleon had become deeply involved in the Spanish peninsula, and the French influence had declined in Persia. This made him look upon the British as allies worth consideration, and he announced his acceptance of the terms proposed by Metcalfe, and the treaty was executed on 25th April, 1809, by which the Raja was allowed to retain possession of the territories to the north of Sutlej but was made to refrain from encroachments on the possessions of the cis-Sutlej chiefs, who henceforward came under the British protection. It is interesting to note that there is no mention made of the French in the whole treaty.

I

Sind

With Sind the British Government had had little intercourse since the expulsion of Crow in 1800. But on account of the paramount

* See Lord Minto in India.

importance of that country in the case of a French or Russian attack *via* Persia, the subject of sending a mission to Sind was taken up by the Governor-General and opened in a letter to the Government of Bombay in March, 1808. Information had been received of the despatch of vakils from Sind to the court of Persia, and of the intrigues of the French in this country.* It was obviously dangerous to allow this country to come within the orbit of the Persian, and indirectly of the French influence.

After the expulsion of Crow, the Amirs, in order to placate the British Government, had sent an agent to Bombay with information about the death of Fateh Ali Shah, under whose rule Crow had been expelled. But the Bombay Government had then refused to accept the agent, unless the Amirs accepted the liability and agreed to pay full indemnity for Crow's expulsion. With that policy the Supreme Government had expressed its full concurrence. But now, in the face of the French danger, the Governor-General insisted† that 'the evident importance, in the present conditions of affairs, of establishing an influence in that state, or at least of obtaining constant and authentic intelligence of the progress of French intrigues in that quarter renders it highly expedient, in our judgment, to overlook any punctilious considerations which, under other circumstances, might properly preclude any attempt on our part to restore the ancient connection between the two states.' The Bombay Government was thus advised to forego her claim for indemnification as a concession for the establishment of political relationship. 'If, however, the Government of Sind should be averse to the restoration of a commercial factory it would not be necessary to insist on that condition, provided the continuance of the envoy could be secured on other terms. Our present object is of a political nature; for which reason, if the Government of Sind should consent to the re-establishment of a commercial factory, the resident should be considered as the political agent of the British Government and should exercise all the duties of diplomatic function.'‡

In view of these considerations, Capt. Seton was sent as an envoy to Hyderabad, where he reached on the 15th July, 1808. The Persian agent was already present at the durbar of Sind and the Amirs freely announced their desire to close with the French and Persian offers.

* See Governor-General in Council to Bombay Govt., 14th March, 1808. Bengal Secret Consultations.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

But they were anxious at all costs to cancel the payment of tribute to Kabul, for the exaction of which Shah Shuja was already advancing towards Sind. This was possible only by friendship with the British Government. On the other side, Capt. Seton had become unduly alarmed as a result of the presence of the Persian agent, and was therefore only too anxious to conclude a treaty immediately.

Accordingly an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with Sind, by which (1) the claim for indemnification by the British Government was waived and firm friendship established between the two states, (2) the residence of a British envoy at Hyderabad was permitted and the re-establishment of the factory at Thatta allowed, (3) the British Government undertook to supply the government of Sind sufficient artillery to lay down the fortress of Umarkot and promised to give military assistance whenever it should be asked for.

Apparently, Seton had agreed to the last clauses because he felt that the presence of British artillery in Sind would be to the advantage rather than to the disadvantage of the British Government and because he carried the impression that the military assistance promised would be asked for only against the French. But the wording of the treaty put the British Government in a really difficult position. It was surely unwise to allow the British Govenment to get involved in a war which might result from an attack on the fortress of Umarkot, and equally unwise was it to arm the Amirs of Sind, who might conceivably employ the force thus given to them against the ruler of Kabul. Seton's action was, therefore, rightly censured and repudiated* by the Supreme Government, and he was recalled.

His place was taken by N. H. Smith, who was asked to obtain a cancellation of the engagements entered into by Seton and 'to endeavour to establish such an intercourse with the chief of Sind as would afford us the means of watching and counteracting the intrigues of the French in that and the neighbouring countries'.† It was certainly a difficult task: the difficulty was that the various powers on the Indian frontier had their divergent ambitions, often mutually conflicting, and wanted the help of the British Government to further their own ends, while the aim of the British Government was to be at peace with all at the same time. The rulers of Sind, in particular,

* See Supreme Govt. to Bombay Govt., 5th Oct., 1808. Bengal Secret Consultations.
† Letter of Instructions, dated 20th Nov., 1808. Bengal Secret Consultations.

wanted to be free from the Durrani empire of Kabul, but help in the achievement of this aim could not be given by the British Government, for the British Government was also in alliance with the King of Kabul. Smith plainly and definitely refused any such help, but on the contrary threatened the Amirs of Sind by telling them that if they did not make an alliance with the British Government and manifested any hostility to that Government's interest, the aid of the Goverment of Kabul would be invoked to force them.

Under these threats, the moral justification of which it is not the purpose of this paper to investigate, a new treaty was negotiated and concluded on 21st August, 1809, by which eternal friendship was declared between the British Government and the government of Sind, to be cemented by a mutual despatch of vakils of both governments. The government of Sind, at the same time, promised 'not to allow the establishment of the tribe of the French.'*

(To be continued)

* This treaty was approved by the Governor-General in his letter to Smith, dated 16th Nov. 1809. Bengal Secret Consultations.

THE GENIUS OF BENGAL

PROF. BATUKNATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L.

NO province of India is so unhappily circumstanced at present as Bengal. She is beset with perplexities that are peculiar to her. Industrially backward, suspect in the eyes of the rulers, distracted by acute communal animosities, helpless in herself and hopeless of help from any quarter, she is now fallen as low as she stood high half a century ago. Pioneer at one time in India's struggle for freedom, she is now a drag on the wheels of her political progress. To the Congress she is like a needy, whining relation that one would fain disown if only one knew how to do it. All the forces outside seem to join to drive defeatism into her. Defeatism reacts to a hostile environment in either of two ways, either as self-abasement or as fatuous self-laudation. The former attitude is only too common, so much so that even a claim on her behalf of what is strictly her due is decried as futile self-glorification.

In these circumstances to descant on the Genius of Bengal is to invite mockery or derision. And yet at no time perhaps did we need more to look within and to understand our racial characteristics than now. For call them by what name, good or evil, we will, these qualities of the race are ineradicably inherent in us. They are the resources and implements wherewith we have to forge ahead to our regeneration if we can. They constitute our ethos, our intellectual being and they act in us as inevitably as the unfelt weight of the atmosphere. Theirs is a presence not to be put by. A study of the psychology of our people is not necessarily a device of crying her up. There was a time when it could be done without apology as it was done by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Shāstri when at Burdwan he dilated on the *Eighteen Glories of Bengal*. And *Bengalis outside Bengal* by Babu Jnanendramohan Das is a record of the recent achievements of her sons that sounds no such note as it needs none. But a study of the mind of the race is otherwise important for it serves to rouse the rising generation to a sense of reality and to an intimate understanding of their possibilities and their limitations.

An analysis of racial genius is no easy undertaking. It is the last fruit of historical insight and knowledge. It is a complex study for it involves fulness of information on countless heads—the various aspects of a people's being and striving, interests and achievements—its arts and letters, its philosophy and religion, its social polity and changes of political fortune. The word *genius* in English bears many senses, among others (1) extraordinary talent, (2) particular bent, special aptitude, distinctive character and (3) a shade or ghost. Unless undertaken by one who has genius in the first sense, the unfolding of the distinctive character, ethos and intellectual cast of a race may well end in presenting a shade or a ghost of its true self.

It is easy to make too much of geography as the determinant of racial character. The speculations of 19th century historians like Buckle to this end are now at a discount. But the physical conditions of the habitat cannot be altogether indifferent in their operation upon the character, moral and intellectual, of the inhabitants. Of all the provinces of the Indian sub-continent Bengal has certain geographical features that distinguish it from the rest. An immense stretch of plains from North to South enclosed within straggling offshoots of hills—the spurs of the Vindhyas on the west, the Garo and Khasia hills on the east, the Himālayas like a wakeful sentinel guarding with paternal care her head, the waves of the sea to the South washing her feet—such is the out-line of this country. Mighty streams intersect it and their waters like the mother's milk carry both food and drink to the children of the soil. Balmy breezes make its cornfields roll like waves. The rich soil periodically renewed by the alluvial deposits of floods yields crops to minimum labour. Fruits and flowers many in their kind and varied in taste and fragrance nourish the body and regale the senses. Nature pours forth her plenty on every side. Everywhere vegetation shoots up with tropical luxuriance. No wonder a land so lavishly endowed by Nature has called forth raptures of poetic effusion and in recent times Bengal's poets, Bankimchandra, Dwijendralāl and Rabindranāth, have initiated the cult of motherland-worship. But Nature has stinted her gifts in other ways. She has withheld from Bengal proper precious metallic ores, quarries of stone and marble and thus reduced the resources wherewith the artistic sense produces works of lasting beauty. This lack of durable materials largely explains the fact that the glories of Ajantā, the monuments

of sacred edifice in the Deccan and the wonders of Mogul architecture in Hindusthan, the crescent-sweep of *ghats* at Benares rising tier above tier are none of her glories. Carved wood and terracotta and embroidered linen are at best the materials of her beautifying arts.

Leaving out the dwellings of wealthy merchants and zemindars, which were few, for ages her children for the most part, high and low in birth, were content to live in mud-houses. The images they worship are made of clay. The huts in which the people live spring from the soil as also do the deities that they worship. The soil yielding food and shelter, beautiful handiworks and household utensils is their only treasure. Crops, fruits and vegetables, huts and idols and useful wares—all spring from the earth, crumble to it, disappear and are renewed with the seasons. The works of human hands are fragile and shortly perish. Nature seems to teach the transience of material possessions.

The soul of man, therefore, turns inward, takes an introspective turn, values things of the mind, things of the spirit. The life of the race comes to be centred on thought and emotion. High idealism that values the inner man more than outward belongings irresistibly appeals to the soul. In pre-British days and even in the early years of European contact the highest honours belonged to the saint, the devotee, the pandit—all those in whom intellectual and spiritual life was intense. The people valued subtlety of intellect, the fervours of religious life, plain living and high thinking. Rāmnāth—the famous Pandit—to whom the Mahārājā of Krishnagar vainly tried to extend his patronage was the representative of the highest life of the race. He was happy to live on boiled rice and tamarind leaves and was conscious of no want as also of no difficulty in the abstrusest texts of philosophy. And his wife was proud of her indigence and justly claimed that the glory of the Rājā's court was secure so long as she wore the red thread round her wrist—inexpensive sign of a married woman's luck. This recognition of the supreme worth of the inner man rings through the famous lines of Bengal's genuine poet:—

Hearken, O brother-man, the highest truth above all is Man-
There is nothing above it.

With her beauty and fertility, Bengal has been the home of a heterogeneous population from the earliest times. Races of diverse origins and at different levels of civilisation have thriven and

multiplied here. Aryans, Dravidians and Mongolians, hill-tribes and aborigines, immigrants from the heart of Hindusthan, animists—all have set up their tabernacles here and lived side by side in a land that had enough for all. This heterogeneity of population has affected for good as well as for evil the destiny of the people—and proved at the same time a liberalising and a weakening force. Bengal has all along been a weak spot in the Aryan community of India. The people at large were insufficiently Hinduised. Hence the saying: Penance purifies one who goes to Bengal except on pilgrimage. Hence the strong hold that Buddhism had on them and its long persistence even after its map had been rolled up in other parts of India. Nālandā and Vikramshilā were powerful seats of Buddhistic learning and sent forth evangelists of that faith across the Himālayas, and established contacts with peoples beyond the frontiers. Hence the fierce hostility of the Moslems when they invaded the Eastern parts of India to the Buddhists stubbornly opposing and the sack and pillage directed against their centres of learning. And it was supplemented by conversion forcible or peaceable. And if Moslem proselytisation has been more successful in and about Bengal than elsewhere that is because of the insufficient Hinduisation of the people. The outer fringe of the population as distinguished from the central regulated body has ever been in an unstable equilibrium—prone to succumb to alien influences and helpless against the onslaughts or responsive to the approaches of other faiths.

From the standpoint of Aryan culture this has been a distinct drawback but it has led to certain bye-products, so to say, modifications of communal attitude and outlook—liberal and pacific. If tolerance be pre-eminently a Hindu virtue, it has developed *in excelsis* in this Eastern frontier-province of Āryāvarta—being a virtue of necessity. A heterogeneous population is forced to the maxim 'Live and let live.' The code of inter-communal behaviour has, therefore, been milder and more liberal. Exclusiveness and rigidity of conduct have been softened. Hence is it that untouchability in Bengal has never been so stern as, say, in the Deccan. In the Southern peninsula Vaishṇavism is the cult of the privileged classes but in Bengal it has been a lever for the uplift of the socially low. A friend of mine travelling in the South where Vaishṇavism is for the high-born classes heard expressions of surprise when he told of this. Again between Hindus and Moslems rapprochement has been closer perhaps

in this outlying province of Hindusthan than elsewhere. Mahomedan *pirs* or saints have been adored by Hindus and Hindu deities were invoked and had votive offerings from Mahomedans. This process had gone on in pre-British days and it is only recently that from political motives the two communities have again drifted apart and exclusive communal feelings have been accentuated. A curious custom is even now witnessed. For the minor ailments of their children and even for their own, Hindu women stand at the doors of musjids and hold up little water-pots that devout Moslems may utter Korānic benedictions as they come out after the *namaj*. Hindus and Moslems without distinction worship and pray to Satya Pīr and Olāi Chandī. This process of communal fusion bespeaks a peculiar trait of the Bengali genius which has ever favoured synthesis and harmony. It is no mere accident that in early British days Rājā Rāmmohan Roy by his studies opened up Comparative Religion as a subject of inquiry. And at the end of the 19th century a Gospel of Harmony more catholic in spirit than anything before emanated from Paramahansa Rāmakrishna, which recognised the truth in every religion and thus met a great need not of India only but of the world at large—the need of a sympathetic and reverent attitude towards all religions. If Rāmakrishna was the prophet, the apostle and evangelist of this new gospel was Swāmi Vivekānanda whose addresses struck a new note in sacred eloquence. The gospel is nothing new in India, going back to the Vedas and Upanishads but a new fervour and appeal was breathed into it by the genius of Bengal.

The synthetic genius of the Bengali manifested itself in other ways also particularly in the blending of the two threads of which Hindu religious culture is woven. The religious history of the Hindus is a chequered garment woven on the loom of Time in which the spirit of the race wrapped itself, so to say, and consists mainly of two strands Vedic and non-Vedic. It is a mighty confluence in which two streams mingle their waters—the Āgamic and the Nigamic. These two forces together uphold the fabric of Indian spiritual culture. The antiquity of the Tantra is indisputable, perhaps it is coeval with the Vedas. Nor is it wholly alien in essential spirit to the latter. But the two sharply diverge in certain points. And the varied evolution of Hindu society and customs has been the outcome of the working of these two forces—sometimes in conflict, at other times in unison.

Āgama and Nigama, says the Bṛhatdharmapurāṇa, are reckoned as the two paths in religion. Between them is upheld the whole world of living and non-living. Nigama is the Vedic path and Āgama the path of ultimate Reality. The conflict between the two is evidenced by countless texts of Vedic and Smarta inspiration. Thus Manu says—Those Smritis, which are non-Vedic and those views whch are heretical, are all useless for they are known as forms of darkness. This attitude of condemnation was directed aginst Tantras of all kinds and not merely the Shaiva and the Shākta. And yet the Tantras are the canonical scriptures for that worship of the five deities, which distinguishes later Hinduism from the earlier. And Paurānic texts prove that at one time they were all treated with equal disfavour. This attitude was inevitable. For whereas the Vedic conception of life is austere, its social scheme exclusive and hierarchical and its code of conduct rigid, the Āgamic outlook is more accommodating to the frailties of human nature which is compounded of flesh as well as spirit. Its social dispensations are more equalitarian, its rules of life comparatively laxer. The latter make allowances for the lapses and weaknesses that men living in society are liable to under what may be termed the law of moral gravitation. For human nature is ever prone to break away from the strait-jackets of a severe social code. The Tantras are more latitudinarian, they are concerned more with the essentials of spirituality than with forms and elaborate ritualism. There are competent scholars who hold more or less plausibly that the Tantras had their origin in Bengal, that the Chandī-Saptashatī is of Bengali inspiration. These views may be open to dispute. But the prevalence of Tāntric cults in Bengal is easily demonstrable. In Bengal the Tāntric initiation if it has not superseded the Vedic sacrament—*upanayana* or investiture with the sacred thread—is certainly universal and counted as more essential for salvation. It is the one sacrament for the spiritual regeneration of the masses as distinguished from those who are well-placed in the orthodox social organisation. And Tāntric religious cults make for equality between man and man by stressing the essentials of spirituality as distinguished from rites and ceremonies and making them equally available to all. Thus the Yoginī Tantra says:

Gone is the Śūdrahood of the Śūdra and the Brahminhood of the Brahmin. As soon as they are initiated into the mystic formula (मन्त्र) they all become equal to Shiva.

And the Shākta Tantra lays down that the mystic Bhairavi circle being joined, men of all the *varnas* (four primary castes) become Brahmins. As soon as the Bhairavi circle is dissolved, all go apart and fall into their places.

And the Shaiva Tantra ordains that considerations of age and caste do not pertain to the Shaiva marriage. The Haribhaktivilāsa—a Vaishṇava Smṛti work—allows the sacred symbol of Nārāyaṇa—the Shālagrāma—to be open to worship by all classes—regenerate or unregenerate, even women and Śūdras.

To the Vaishṇava the one title to spiritual pre-eminence is devotion and even a Chandāla or a *pariah* if wholly devoted to the Lord Hari is equal to the best of Brahmins in status. And the Chaitanyacharitāmṛta says—Ascetic or Brahmin, why should he call one a Śūdra? Whoever knows the truth about the Lord becomes a preceptor.

This is no mere theoretic dogma, it has been the actual practice in Bengal and Shrī Chaitanya set the example in this behalf. The story of Haridas the Yavana is well-known. The offering to the manes which formerly was presented to a Brahmin of undoubted purity and worth was under his direction given to that Vaishṇava saint although of Moslem origin at the *sradh* of Advaitāchārya's father. And at Puri the story is still current that when the saint passed away the washing of his feet was given by Shrī Chaitanya to his disciples. These practices altogether repugnant to orthodox social usages have been only too common in Bengal. Here genuine spiritual worth has received the highest reverence irrespective of considerations of caste or social standing. And non-Brahmin *gurus*, like the Vaidyas of Shree Khanda, have counted disciples among men of the highest castes.

All these testify to the sway of the Tantra and of ideas and practices of Tāntric origin over the people's mind. It would seem, therefore, that the soil of Bengal has never been congenial to the growth and continuity of the Vedic tradition which like an exotic failed to srike root in it and ever tended to lapse into the laxer or more liberal social behaviour promoted by the Tantras. Hence arose the necessity of strengthening the Vedic tradition and social polity from time to time. This is the significance of the successive Brahminic immigrations from the heart of Āryāvarta—in the times of Ādishūra, Shyāmalavarmā and Shūdraka. And the successive groups of new-comers lived apart and failed to amalgamate though they were all Brahmins of the highest social standing and formed sub-communi-

ties, separate and self-contained. The Brahmin comers of an earlier date lost by residence in this province their pre-eminence and lapsed into the ways of the land of their adoption and others had to be invited who still preserved the Vedic cults in their purity and freshness. Hence is it that the later immigrants were by way of distinction called Vaidiks—specially conversant with Vedic lore and rituals.

But it is not only in the sway of Āgama and the ascendancy of usages of Āgamic inspiration that Bengal diverged from the main stream of Hindu tradition. In other spheres also her genius tended to non-conformity and exhibited marks of striking originality. Even where she did not originate she affected an extremism in doctrines and social institutions. A spirit of dissent is the essence of individuality And ours has been a race of dissenters though the dissent may not in all cases have been "the dissidence of dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion." Even where she moved in the Vedic-Smārta social groove she did not fail to obey this impulse. In juristic principles she broke from the authority of the Mitākshara which is supreme in the other schools. Thus Jīmutavāhana considerably modified the doctrine of right to ancestral property by birth by making its accrual depend upon survivorship at the time of distribution on the last owner's demise or otherwise. The result was to lead inheritance nearer to the archaic institution of *patria potestas* and to strengthen the position of the father as the head of the family. The incidents of Hindu coparcenary were thus markedly modified. Again the childless widow was declared heir to her husband in disregard of the rule elsewhere.

The same tendency to dissidence and extreme logical development is noticed in the Sacred Institutes of Raghunandana although it is the fashion to regard him as the bulwark of a stereotyped tradition—as a rigid no-changer from ancient orthodoxy. He prescribed by his ingenious interpretation an austerer life for the Hindu widow than what is to be found in other parts of India. The absolute fast on the Ekadashi day for her is a practice peculiar to West Bengal which has also influenced the Eastern parts of the province. In regard to sins or lapses from orthodox practice, the Smriti compilers of the other provinces held expiatory rites to have the effect of rehabilitating the offender in society. But Raghunandana interpreted the text of Yājnavalkya in the strictest manner and held that where the sinful act was done with knowledge, the sinner incurred ostracism and no expiation

could restore him to his place in the community. This severe excommunication though it might act as the most effective deterrent is unfortunately an instrument of social attenuation and weakness. All these prescriptions attest a love of singularity innate in the genius of the province.

But the most outstanding examples of this trait are to be found in the contributions of the Vaishṇavas to the fund of Hindu philosophic thought and literary culture. In hoary antiquity Bengal had contributed a distinctive literary style to Sanskrit—called the Gaudī Rīti. The Vaishṇavas following in the wake of Rūpa Goswāmī gave a new orientation to the Rasa-psychology of Bharata by elaborating the sentiments of *sakhya* (friendship), *dāsya* (servanthood), *vātsalya* (parental affection) as interpreting Man's relations with his Maker. The Quietistic sentiment (*shāntarasa*) was given a new complexion and savour through the interfusion of the Erotic and the Devout. And Paramananda Sen, otherwise known as Kavi Karṇapura, formulated his creed in a manner as emphatic as it was epoch-making. His verses are: "Some fondly imbibe the bitter juice of *nimba* (Margosa) in the ascetic cult of *Nirvāṇa* (Emancipation or *Moksha*). They are not the men of truly refined sensibility but we who have tasted a sentiment of rare flavour. For we drink in the elixir of devotion to Krishṇa—as left over from the rich draughts which the blessed Gopa (cowherd) damsels, languid with love, had imbibed with their eager eyes as with the hollows of the devotees' folded palms." This sentiment is by way of pre-eminence called the *Ujjvala* or Resplendent for it transcends in appeal and power all earthly joys.

The Vaishṇava cult of devotion led to some pronouncements almost revolutionary in spirit. *Moksha* which in the Hindu scheme of human life and endeavour is a cardinal object is by the Vaishṇavas of Bengal condemned and deprecated in no measured terms. Here is a startling breach with the Vedāntic thought which most powerfully moulded religious ideas all over India. Thus Jīva Goswāmī upholds the new doctrine in most emphatic terms: So long as the progress of desire for emancipation like the desire for worldly enjoyments dwells in the heart, how can the bliss of devotion arise therein? From this standpoint Bhakti or devotion is viewed as a fifth or additional or the highest goal of man's strivings. Moksha or emancipation, the merger of the Ego in the Oversoul, is to the Vaishṇava a lower goal for his aim is the service of the Lord through countless

cycles of existence. The Vaishṇava is above all a worshipper. Oneness with the Lord that he adores defeats the end of his being. The devotional attitude presupposes dualism as distinguished from the Absolute Monism of the Vedāntin. And he would retain his individuality for all time even unto eternity so that he may not lose the *summum bonum* which is the beatitude of devotion. And yet he realises that the Lord pervades all. Hence the new philosophy that Jīva Goswāmī develops the *achintya-bhedābheda* the incomprehensible other-not-otherness of the Supreme Being and everything else.

Western education in the 19th century gave a new direction to this attitude of non-conformity, the Protestant bent of the soul of Bengal. The abuses and corruptions that had crept into the social system and the practices of the religious sects roused the spirit of protest in the finest souls of the province. A movement of social and religious purgation started to lead men from corrupt and irrational usages and the jumble and confusion of cults and dogmas to the pure and lucid faith of the Upanishads and to an enlightened social polity and behaviour. The Brahmo Samaj was founded and turned out to be the pioneer and exemplar of other movements such as the Ārya Samaj, Deva Samāj, Prārthanā Samāj.

Even to-day the spirit of non-conformity is not dead. In politics Bengal which had imparted the breath of life to the nationalist movement is not content with unquestioning faith to follow where others lead. Deshbandhu Das by his powerful talents and personality had resisted non-co-operation and his programme of obstruction within the Council has since moulded Congress politics. The bold stand made by Sj. Subhash Chandra Bose the other day aginst the Congress High Command though penalised as indiscipline is justified by the subsequent course of events. It may be deplored as an unfortunate episode but it testifies to the spirit of undaunted non-conformity in the face of heaviest odds and greatest personalities that the genius of Bengal has ever manifested when convinced of a wrong and the need of opposing it.

The aspects of the ethos and intellectual self of Bengal touched upon above the spirit of reaching out to a gospel of synthesis, the inclination to liberal and equalitarian dispensations, the attitude of non-conformity are all connected with what may be termed in Arnold's words, spontaneity of consciousnese or flexibility of intelligence. The soul of the race by a spontaneous impulse turns to light coming from whatever source, even as a flower opens its petals to the rays of the

sun or a flame points skyward. Of this innumerable proofs were forthcoming during the 19th century which was an epoch of glory in the annals of our province. When the question of Western education as against indigenous learning was mooted in the thirties of the last century the best minds of the race unhesitatingly declared themselves in favour of the former. Despite the ban in the Smṛties on sea-voyage Bengal's sons were the first to cross the Kālāpāṇi—the dark waters. In no part, perhaps, did the cult of the motherland evoke such poetic raptures as in Bengal. It would be invidious to single out names but Madhusudan, Rangalāl, Hemchandra, Nabinchandra—all swelled the new note till Bankim wrote his inspired national anthem and Dwijendralāl and Rabindranāth imparted to the patriotic numbers a fuller and richer majesty. If Bankim was the bard, Surendranāth was the fiery prophet of the new religion and by his fervid eloquence scattered the flames of the new faith from end to end of this historic land. The agitation against the Partition of Bengal truly marked the political renaissance of India.

In literature the excellences of technique, theme and conception, that the West had to offer were first assimilated by the writers of this province—blank verse and epic and tragedy, social and romantic novels. And even to-day the distinction of forwardness in imitating and absorbing the latest experiments in technique belongs to Bengali which in resources of expression and wealth and variety of production certainly leads the other languages of India. The Parichaya School is in the van of the progressives. And, prose-poems, imagism—the examples set by Whitman, Hopkins, Ezra Pound and Eliot had stirred the literati of Bengal to emulation before others took the field. In the arts also Cubism, Symbolism and such curiosities have first moved the genius of Bengal before they cast their spell on others. The latest political-isms of the West—Communism like Anarchism a quarter of a century ago have found apter and stauncher disciples among the intellectuals of this province than anywhere else.

This flexibility of intelligence has ever tended to foster a practical instinct—a sense of realism—which never fumbled in grasping the one thing needful. Deference for tradition when it is felt as an impediment has been cast aside unhesitatingly. Of this the examples are many and some may be cited from a quarter least expected. In Bengal Vedic ritualism, elaborate and complicated, withered away making room for various Tāntric cults in which Bhakti dominated.

The gradual atrophy of Vedic ritualism, the elimination of *darsha-purṇamāsha, agnihotra*, etc., which played so large a part in the antique routine of Aryan religious life is a process that has been observed in other parts of India also. But it seems to have begun earlier in Bengal and the few royal grants to Brahmins who still preserved the older tradition that we meet with in history and the successive attempts by means of Brahminic immigrations to resuscitate Vedic rites—all bear witness to the ascendancy of cults other than the strictly Vedic. The children of the soil had a tendency which the lapse of time only swelled to seize upon the substance of spirituality rather than elaborate forms—upon devotion and meditation, pious benefactions, austerities, *Kirtan* or religious singing. The indigenous learning of Bengal shows no doubt some eminent Vedic scholars—Bhavadeva and Pashupati—but their number is meagre compared with the host of writers on the various branches of Vedic studies—*shikshā, kalpa*, Vedic grammar and exegesis that other provinces show. Of all branches of study Bengal preferred Neo-Nyāya and carried it to a degree of perfection and subtlety that was the envy and admiration of the other provinces. The development of Neo-Nyāya which robbed Mithilā of its glory and transferred it to Navadwip is undoubtedly a great achievement of the genius of Bengal. It is the fashion now-a-days to regard this phase of our medieval learning as an abuse of the Bengali brain. But the judgment is plainly due to a lack of historical perspective. No doubt there are palpable crudities of theory and speculation on physical objects and natural processes—*e.g.*, that the natural state of water is liquid, the solid as in ice and hailstone being an illusion of the mind induced by Karma in previous birth, that the taste of water is sweet, the test being the chewing of myrabolan to purify the palate before, or that the atom has no dimension and therefore, the cause of the size of a bi-atomic substance is the number of the atoms and not the combination of their sizes—and many more that a modern school boy given the access to the abstruse texts would easily detect. It should be remembered, however, that the Positive Sciences were more or less in the same state in all parts of the world, in Europe no less than in India down to the middle if not the end of the 18th century and the marvels of modern science date from the discovery of steam and electricity in the 19th century. And the crude propositions of Greek physicists and acute dialectics in deducing from them, mostly made up the scholastic science that swayed the European

mind. The value of Neo-Nyāya is not assessed by these but by the perfection *ne plus ultra* of deductive ratiocination. Bengal valued it as the lamp which illuminated all branches of learning, as the key which rightly applied unlocked all treasures of thought. Sneer at it is cheap and ridicule of its speculations common. But speculations where sense-perception lends no aid as on the ultimate structure of matter are ever of the same kind. G. B. Shaw's paradox on modern scientific credulity though not to be taken with serious literalness is a wholesome chastener : " The medieval doctors of divinity who did not pretend to settle how many angels could dance on the point of a needle cut a very poor figure as far as romantic credulity is concerned beside the modern physicists who have settled to the billionth of a millimetre every movement and position in the dance of the electrons."

The comparative neglect of the Mīmānsā and the preference of the Logic of Grammar and the Philosophy of Language evolved by the Neo-Naiyāikas which did not presuppose a knowledge of the details of disused Vedic sacrifices and ceremonies also point to this realism and practical sense of the race. It is this sense of realism that impelled the clear-sighted leaders of Bengal to pioneer measures of much-needed social reform regardless of established usages. And in this respect what Bengal thought to-day the rest of India thought on the morrow.

In trying to analyse the genius of the race consciously or otherwise I have struck perhaps a note of racial self-laudation. This is inevitable where there is really so much to be proud of—high idealism, a spirit of synthesis, freethinking and a sense of realism. It is the infection of the theme and not deliberate puffing. But the aim throughout has been to dissect and expose not to appraise or to impose. Besides, admirable as these qualities are they inevitably suggest also their defects. The introspective turn bred by Nature's bounty and the ease with which her favours are won have disposed the people to be domestic and insular in outlook and to disregard the call and challenge of the outer world. This is perhaps the reason why barring the far-flung conquests of the dim past, the chiefs and princes of this province have militarily and politically played minor parts on the stage of Indian history. The people have been too self-absorbed. Furthermore, intellectual acumen and imaginative fervour have spelt evil as well as good. Intellectualism is in society a disintegrating force and pushes men apart by making them ego-centric. It loosens social cohesion, makes the individual too much of a law unto himself,

fosters non-conformity, leads to a disregard of Tradition. Hence we come across thinkers of the highest originality, writers of soaring imagination, men of initiative who achieve greatness by themselves but rarely act in concert or hold together for long in a common cause. Intellectualism accentuates individuality and Bengal has never been poor in examples of individual greatness. This has at once been her glory and her misfortune.

But the exposure of her evil genius for which we daily and hourly suffer is another story altogether and no part of the present discourse. It is necessary just now in the crisis through which we are passing to seize on the positive side of the racial endowment for it is on that side that the hope of our regeneration lies. Poor in resources of physical well-being and material wealth Bengal has yet to achieve her salvation by utilising the things of the mind and spirit. To make light of these is to misread the lessons of history. There is no mightier lever for human uplift than ideas. New powers are put forth, new resources are created once a vitalising idea seizes the soul of man. Such an idea is the quickening of a race that has in it so much of promise—that holds within it such rare powers of mind and spirit which for fruition need only the physical basis of existence to be strengthened and broadened. It is a treason against the heritage that has descended to us to think otherwise than in terms of faith and hope, to hold that the present handicaps will not be overcome by the sense of realism and the flexibility of intelligence of which our people have given proofs more than once. Hindus and Mahomedans alike in whose veins flows the blood that issued in the traits indicated above can yet turn Bengal into what Nature meant her to be—a paradise on earth and transform the people into the pictures of health and beauty that the early English comers to India like Lord Minto—the first Governor-General of that name—found and described them to be, and win for her rightful place alike in the counsels of India and in the comity of nations and thus fulfil the high destiny for which she is marked out by her Creator.

CHARACTERISATION IN BANKIM CHANDRA'S NOVELS

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III

BANKIM Chandra wrote his novels not so much for the dramatic possibilities of their story as for the revelation of human nature in and through their action. In them the story element never predominates. Characters have a value of their own. They are something more than mere instruments for the development of plot. On the contrary the action is sometimes retarded so that we might get glimpses of some secluded corner of the human heart. The plot is sometimes lengthened out merely to show the downfall of human personality. Character is of far greater interest to him than the story and, naturally, he lavishes all his art on characterisation.

In the development of his characters we can discern three distinct stages. He introduces his characters artistically and then builds them up into distinct individuals. After giving his readers a clear and distinct impression of their personality he places them in situations where they come into contact with other characters and thus develop into real men and women.

Some of his characters are merely built up. They do not grow. Chanchalkumari, for instance, expresses herself through action from her first appearance. Her frolicsome nature and deep-rooted hatred of tyranny, gradually make her more definite. When disaster threatens she discovers unknown elements of personality. Her calm acceptance of the inevitable reveals the innate strength of her mind while her determination to seek Rajsinha's protection speaks not only of her patriotic fervour but also of her deep maidenly affection for the Rana. She is here both a patriot-Princess and a coy maiden. Her dignified epistle to Rajsinha, the outspoken modesty with which she offers herself to her protector, her sorrow when she leaves Rupnagar, the fortitude with which she confronts danger ; they combine to create a figure of strength made perfect in weakness. Through contrast of personalities and characteristic action she becomes real to us. The inherent strength of her nature, her resourcefulness

and strength of mind are very artistically revealed through clash of personalities and rapid (melo) dramatic (?) action when, like a Goddess incarnate, she steps forth between two hostile forces and, by the very weight of her presence, prevents bloodshed. In the real psychological crisis of her life she confronts Rajsinha with a self-assurance which we cannot but admire. Her swift repartees, her intellectual alertness, her straightforward nature create a complex personality who, as Rajsinha has to admit, is a proper consort for the patriot King. Thus in scene after scene, the novelist reveals, through clash of personalities and dramatic action, different aspects of her character. It is illustrated but does not develop. She becomes more and more definite but does not grow.[1]

In the temple of Saileswar Tilottama is a bashful girl shrinking from her first acquaintance with a stranger prince. We meet her next in the palace at Garh Mandaran where she sits all alone musing over the past. Her serene beauty and innocent heart, the unconscious revelation of her love and her anxiety to conceal it, her maidenly coyness and reserve all make her character real to us. Bimala meets her and her simple unsophisticated nature set off against the fully developed personality of her companion renders her more vivid and life-like. The sudden brightening up of her countenance when she hears of Bimala's long journey ; her despair at the knowledge of the serious obstacles to the fulfilment of her heart's desire ; her hesitation and half-hearted protests as Bimala plays on her child-like simplicity ; and lastly the silent confession of her love—they merely complete the picture. After this elaborate building up of her personality one expects her to develop and grow as she passes through the bitter experiences of her life. But that is not to be. She is the same helpless creature in the harem of Katlukhan as she was in the castle of her father. She cannot face the crises of her life. When action is of supreme importance she hesitates and breaks down. Bimala gives her the ring which can take her to safety but she does not know what to do with it. In the midst of danger she is absorbed in thoughts of her beloved. She trembles at the approach of the guard and out of sheer nervousness asks him to take her to Jagatsinha. The callous behaviour of Jagatsinha does not rouse her ; she merely swoons away. Even when she meets Jagatsinha again after all her sufferings she

[1] *Cf.* Pratap, Jibananda, Osman, Mubarak, for the same method of building up of character.

is the same innocent creature as she was before. Her character is merely revealed through her actions ; it does not change, far less grow.[1]

Beauty resplendent even in the midst of poverty, a personality instinct with love, tenderness and faith—such is the Santi the consort of Jibananda. When she meets her husband she exercises wonderful power of self-restraint. Her heart might break but she remains outwardly calm and composed. When her husband is tempted to give up his mission it is her reassuring words which strengthen him. She rouses our curiosity and the novelist seeks to satisfy that curiosity by narrating at great length her past history. We see Santi brought up in association with the pupils of her father, imbibing from them their learning and their manly nature. She comes to her husband's house but does not give up her peculiar habits. Naturally she becomes unpopular. Ill-treatment makes her desperate and she becomes an errant sannyasin. Her youthful beauty attracts the amorous attention of her companions and they teach her erotic poetry. She now feels that she is a woman. Womanly grace and womanly modesty now blend with her masculine courage and strength. She leaves her companions and returns to her husband. The truthful accents of her confession win over her husband and love comes to her. Contact with her husband softens down her masculine temperament and develops her womanly qualities. She now becomes a woman. It is at this transitional stage of her mental development that Jibananda leaves her. Knowing full well that Jibananda must die for breaking his vow she follows him in disguise. She becomes a Santan and when Satyananda discovers her identity the proud dignified manner in which she defends the claims of womanhood for a share in the regeneration of her motherland is worthy of her training and experience. The intellectual charm of her conversation with Satyananda, her eloquence when she discourses about the rights of a wife to become the companion of her husband in all concerns of life invest her complex personality with an added charm. Through crude narration, through contrast of personality and dramatic action the transformation of Santi is made real to us. She grows from a boyish maiden to a fully developed woman strong in the strength of her love and devotion ; but once this transformation is complete her growth is arrested. Her character no longer develops. She becomes a fixed type—the guradian angel

[1] *Cf.* Mrinalini, Hemchandra, Jagatsinha, Kunda for the same method of action merely illustrating character and not developing it.

of her husband. When he hesitates she expounds to him the eternal truths of spiritual marriage and spiritual love. She strengthens him in his weakness and her high ideals inspire him. Even Satyananda confesses defeat. The strong man becomes clay in her hands. He no longer commands; he can only implore. It is only in the last scene where she searches in vain for the dead-body of her husband that she breaks down and her womanhood triumphs.

After the surpirse of his first meeting with Kapalkundala is over, Nabakumar out of sheer gratitude marries her. There is, indeed, some hesitation but he considers the different aspects of the question and resolves to risk all for her sake. Through artful suggestions and significant conversation his love for her beauty and his gratitude for her courage are brought home to us. The transition from admiration to love is very crudely delineated. Its different stages—joy at the acceptance of his wife by his relatives, a yearning desire for closer association with her, the seriousness he develops in his attitude towards life—they are merely described. We miss the artist's hand, the unobtrusiveness of art. Henceforth he is a static figure. His rejection of Matibibi is the natural recoil of an orthodox Brahmin from the proposal of becoming the paramour of a moslem lady. His jealousy is only love and admiration turned inside out. He feels strongly because his idol is being ruthlessly broken. His loss of balance is the bewilderment of an Othello before a situation he cannot control. His passionate resolve to punish Kapalkundala is the outcome of love insulted and injured strengthened by an innate reverence for chastity. The last cry of anguish is wrung out of an affectionate heart recoiling upon itself.[1] A woman, resourceful and brilliant, affectionate and faithful, bubbling with humour and the joy of life—such is Bimala in Durgeshnandini. Her second interview with Jagat Sinha and her encounter with Osman merely strengthen the impression and her figure more definite and real. Danger cannot frighten her. In moments of crisis she never loses her presence of mind. Rather her wit and humour scintillates all the more brilliantly and her resourcefulness becomes all the more active to create means of escape. Through significant conversation and dramatic action, through artistic hints and indirect suggestions her character gradually gathers shape. And then her whole personality rises to the white heat of passion at that

[1] *Cf.* Sree, Mahendra for a similar method of "arrested growth."

great scene where she witnesses the execution of her husband. She is entirely transfigured no—longer the joyous creature of laughter and tears but a veritable instrument of fate. We listen awe-struck to her cry of anguish, we are startled at her fierce vow of vengeance. Her stony gaze and tearless eyes leave one indelible impression on our mind. She is now a woman of heroic mould and primitive passions. Though touched by melodrama this is one of the most impressive scenes that Bankim ever created. The contrast between the romantic atmosphere of gay festivities in Katlukhan's harem and the grief that well-nigh breaks her heart invests her figure, as she dances her last dance with a tragic majesty. Her simulation of mirth, her graceful dance and smiling countenance are rendered tragically impressive by the subtle use of dramatic irony.* Her mission fulfilled, she sinks back exhausted to her normal womanhood. The same technique—the gradual building up of personality, sudden revelation of inner life at a moment of crisis, and subsidence to normal humanity—we can discern in Ayesha, Rama and Jayanti.

Conflict has been regarded as the essence of the drama. It is of the essence of life as well. It reveals character and develops the human personality, and novelists have utilised this fact for their own artistic purpose. Human experience has in every country evolved moral ideas and principles which, consciously or unconsciously, govern human activities. They mould the character of man. In the most formative period of his life man comes into contact with ideas of right and wrong floating in the atmosphere of thought in which he lives. He assimilates them and they form the most influential part of his self. There are, however, occasions when owing to circumstances over which he has but little control, impulses and emotions antagonistic to this 'social ego' in him becomes strong. There is then a conflict, both external and internal, a conflict all the more significant because it seems to entail the disruption of his personality. Man is judged by the issues of such a conflict whether he goes down and becomes the slave of impulses and emotions or transcends them growing stronger by his struggle. In his novels Bankim Chandra always adopted a moralistic attitude towards life; and naturally he was attracted to such struggles in the lives of his men and women.

* *Cf.* Calantha's dance in *Ford's Broken Heart.*

Hira is a maid-servant in Nagendra's household. She is a full-blooded woman yet restrained in her behaviour. No breath of slander clouds her reputation. She confronts Devendra but withstands all temptations. When Kunda disappears Devendra tempts her. Her contemptuous rejection of his offer speaks of the innate honesty of her character. There is, however, already dissatisfaction working in her. The world has cheated her. God has deprived her of all domestic happiness; *ergo*, she must revenge herself on the world. Through soliloquy—one of the simplest artistic methods—the novelist reveals her inner self to us. The canker has entered her soul. She is jealous of Suryyamukhi's happiness; she must curb her influence and power. She is infatuated with the beauty of Devendra; she cannot endure Devendra's passion for Kunda. To save her from Devendra's advances and spite Suryyamukhi by making Kunda the favourite wife of Nagendra she contrives the restoration of the poor helpless girl. She struggles with all her power against her infatuation for Devendra. The presence of her beloved in her house and the influence of music insinuating itself into her mind makes her forget the world in a mist of romance. She confesses her love. When she comes back to the world of normal human experience she rebukes Devendra for tempting her, proclaims with pride that she is an honest woman and refuses to surrender where there is no love. Yet the incoherence of her protest is very significant. She is gradually weakening. Thus Bankim reveals to us a distinct stage in the growth of Hira's character. The scene is very artistically developed; interplay between environment and character, the subtle influence of music on the human mind clash of personalities—they all render it psychologically interesting. The real conflict now begins—a conflict between self-restraint strengthened by her contempt for Devendra as a man on the one hand and a strong infatuation for his beautiful person on the other. So long as she knows that Devendra does not love her she conquers. But when Devendra entrances her with sweet music and declamations of love sweeter still she, convinced of his sincerity, surrenders herself. Through dramatic incident and significant conversation, through clash of personalities and interaction between character and environment her gradual degeneration is made vivid and real. She soon wakes up to reality and cunningly contrives the suicide of Kunda. The strain on her womanly nature is too much for her to bear and she becomes insane.

More intricate and complex is the character of Rohini. She first appears as a widow recoiling from immorality yet anxious to taste the happiness of married love; there is also in her a streak of abnormal sensuousness discernible in her dress, in her gait, in her exuberant youth. After building up her character the artist creates a wonderful world of romance. The beauty and fragrance of flowers, the sweet carolling of birds instil into her inchoat yearnings and desires. Rohini's personality is artistically attuned to this romantic atmosphere. She looks upon the world with other eyes. Everything has caught a new beauty. Already weakened by the influence of environment she sees Govindalal through the mist of glamorous vision and falls a victim to the charm of his personality. The entire scene is visualised by a blending of different artistic methods. Imaginative interpretation of nature, suggestions of self-revelation indirectly introduced, interaction between nature and the human self, contrast of personalities—they are all utilised to make it real. Her infatuation at first makes her conscious of her guilt; it seems to ennoble her character rather than debase it. She can no longer injure Govindalal's interest. She must return the will. The novelist creates two symbolical characters, Sumati and Kumati and seeks to reveal her inner conflict through significant conversation between the two. His purpose is to make self-revelation dramatic. But the symbolical characters have no hint of reality about them. The entire scene is artificial. Destiny now takes a hand. Her attempt to right a wrong miscarries. She is misrepresented and reviled and then comes her second interview with Govindalal. It begins on a lower key but gradually rises to high dramatic tension. Stage by stage Bankim Chandra reveals her weariness of life, her clinging to the remembrance of the one moment of intense happiness on the banks of Baruni and her strong infatuation for Govindalal. Through simple words of question and answer the entire inner conflict is brought home to us. She is advised to leave for Calcutta and the struggle is renewed. She cannot endure the absence of Govindalal. She thinks of suicide, of elopment with her beloved. She prays to God to strengthen her and finally, defeated and humbled, she goes to Govindalal and expresses her inability to leave Haridragram. Self-revelation through soliloquy and dialogue creates a scene of moving pathos where artistic restraint reaches a high level of excellence. Goaded on by the message of Bhramar she seeks peace in

suicide but here also Providence intervenes. When she regains consciousness she reveals her inner self to Govindalal. She has been yearning for the fulfilment of her desires but her yearnings are not to be satisfied. Is it not better to set everything at rest by suicide? So she asks: and there is a ring of almost tragic sincerity in her simple words of sorrow. Village gossip does not spare her. Exasperated she takes a mean spiteful step to hurt Bhramar. Her moral fibre is plainly loosening. The grosser elements of her character gain the upper hand. Such a character, so lacking in self-restraint, so instinct with sensuality, so determined to wreak vengeance on society is sure to glide swiftly down into moral degeneration. She falls for Govindalal and in course of time she descends so low as to try to captivate by her amorous glances even a stranger. In a scene of melodrama she is murdered by Govidalal verily the wages of sin is death.*

The struggle grows deeper and more complex when the moral nature of man is strengthened by its association with other feelings and emotions. The temptation must be stronger and its progress more chequered when it has to conquer not only the 'social ego' in man but also his former love and affection. Govindalal and Bhramar are a happy pair as they first appear before us. They are wrapt up one in the other. Their divided selves seem to be blended into one composite personality. It is a very difficult task which the novelist sets up before himself—the alienation of Govindalal from Bhramar. When Govindalal meets Rohini and revives her he receives a rude shock to discover her infatuation. A wave of pity sweeps over him. He is conscious of the dangerous consequences of such an irrational overwhelming passion, and advises Rohini to leave for Calcutta. The emotional tension in Rohini sets off by contrast his grave composure and his inner conflict is artfully suggested in the few words of advice he utters. This very anxiety to send Rohini to Calcutta reveals a distinct weakening of his own self, a growing attraction for her beauty. His self-restraint is well broken and his appeal to Providence to strengthen him has a pathetic ring about it. He tries to forget Rohini and immerses himself in business affairs. But the abrupt departure of Bhramar upsets him. He takes it to be an insult to his love and he seeks to punish her. His mind turns imperceptibly to Rohini. Desire becomes stronger than pity. The attempt of his uncle to restrain him by making his

* *C.f.* Bhabananda of "Anandamath" for similar method.

wife inherit the property further complicates the situation. The old intimacy disappears. By narrative and scenes of self-revelation, this change of mind is visualised till in a scene rendered dramatic by clash of personalities he refuses to live as Bhramar's pensioner. Gradually Rohini comes to overshadow everything. The inevitable struggle ensues. Good and evil contest for mastery in symbolical conversation ; and the crisis is reached when he turns a deaf ear to the humble supplication of his devoted wife and leaves Haridrapur. Thus through dramatic scenes, significant conversation and subtle analysis of character the development of Govindalal's personality is revealed to us. Step by step he descends to the lowest depths of degeneration till the discovery of Rohini's infidelity rouses the passionate man in him and he murders her. The murder scene is melodramatic but nonetheless it reveals the mentality of Govindalal. There is the inevitable reaction ; remorse overwhelms him and finally he comes, silent and forlorne, to bid farewell to his neglected wife. The significant silence of the chamber, the whispers of dying Bhramar invest his farewell with a tragic significance ; and then in a symbolic trance the two influences reappear. Rohini resplendent in her beauty appeals to his sensuous nature and urges him on to destruction Bhramar with her spiritual strength insinuates herself into his heart and instils therein a renewed strength and fortitude.

The same conflict between infatuation for beauty on the one hand and deep love strengthened by moral considerations on the other is discernible in the development of Nagendra's character. But the method used is often different. From the days of Richardson the epistolary method has been used for revelation of character. The character is not delineated and analysed from outside, the inner workings of its heart are laid bare before us. In both the analytical and dramatic methods of characterisation we, somehow or other, feel ourselves to be mere onlookers. We cannot fully identify ourselves with the character itself. Description or analysis is the artistic interpretation of the character concerned and not its very self. The dramatic method brings the character before us but we have to guess at its inner struggle from its external activities. The epistolary method gives us an opportunity to witness the very throbs of the character's heart. We seem to penetrate into the depths of its personality. Nagendra might in his letter to Suryyamukhi

describe the innocent charm of Kunda but in and through his enthusiastic description we can see how powerfully that charm is working on his own mind. The letter that Suryyamukhi writes to Kamalmani reveals further development of Nagendra's infatuation. His absent-mindedness and eager desire for more intimate association with Kunda, his discomfiture at unconsciously uttering her name, the sympathy for widows which he suddenly develops, his psychological instability, his futile attempts to make amends by renewed attentions to Suryyamukhi—represented as they are through Suryyamukhi's consciousness leave a deep impression in our mind. This epistolary method utilised here is subtler than before. It reveals character through a change of view-point. The letter not only delineats Nagendra but reveals Suryyamukhi's anxious and loving heart as well. Nagendra now appears on the scene. Through dramatic action his struggle expresses itself. He becomes irritable ; he seeks to drown his anxieties in wine ; and we are not surprised when, in the midst of romantic surroundings, in the presence of his beloved, Nagendra, unable to keep up the struggle any further. declares in simple words of emotion his love for Kunda. After her flight Nagendra meets Suryyamukhi. Through clash of personalities and significant conversation a dramatic situation is created and he reveals his inner struggle to his wife. He does not mince matters, he justifies nothing. Stung by remorse he paints himself worse than he really is. In a letter to Srischandra he seeks to describe his mad infatuation and justify his second marriage. The swift action of the novel is suddenly slowed down and the dramatic representation of Nagendra's character is retarded simply because the novelist is in a didactic mood. The moralist triumphs over the artist and we are regaled with a chapter on infatuation and love. With the flight of Suryyamukhi, the whole world seems to be dark to Nagendra. The recollection of his past happiness makes him miserable and he castigates himself most unmercifully. Suryyamukhi with her devotion and sweet womanly nature takes entire possession of his heart. Determined to pass his life in expiation of his guilt he cherishes her memory ; he suffers all mortifications for her sake. It is only when she returns that he regains his old normal self. Through narration, analysis and description ; through dramatic action and artistic self-revelation the entire process is visualised by the novelist.

Man dreams but his dreams are very seldom realised. His hopes and aspirations are very often frustrated. There ensues a conflict

between personality and environment ; and the human personality itself is strangely influenced by this conflict. The force of circumstances is very often strengthened by social conventions and moral laws which further complicate the situation. There are also occasions when man finds himself confronted not only by the impersonal forces of circumstance and of the moral order but also by the personality of those round whom centre his hopes, affections and aspirations. Out of this complex pattern of life emerges and grows human character. In modern times creative art reaches its highest perfection if it can make real this complex situation. This conflict between human personality and the forces of circumstance forms the keynote of Sitaram's character. His admiration for Sree's beauty so artistically brought out through suggestions, hints and dramatic action, and so naturally strengthened by the revelation of her forceful personality and her strange self-sacrifice becomes an obsession with him. And Sree disappears when his heart was yearning most for her. The innocent love and anxious fear of Rama, the devotion of Nanda cannot satisfy him. He wants a true consort and they are none. The force of circumstance intervenes and makes him pine for what is not. He tries to forget his sorrow ; he merges himself in affairs of state but still the image of Sree reigns in his minds. He can sacrifice his own kingdom for her ; she is now his guardian angel. But when Sree appears she is a different personality altogether. In a scene rendered dramatic by the contrast between his eager yearnings on the one hand and the disinterested attitude of Sannyasini Sree on the other the novelist artistically delineates the frustation of Sitaram's desires. He wants a consort and a wife ; Sree remains a Sannyasini and a well-wisher. He offers her his own self. Sree has dedicated her all to God. The attraction, both physical and intellectual, remains and its results are disastrous. Sitaram forgets his state, his administration and even the remonstrances of Sree are of no avail. When Sree asks him to give up either herself or his state he does neither. Prosperity and the enjoyment of riches have debased him. Rama's death makes him all the more unbalanced ; the consciousness of guilt, the reproaches of his friends and relatives, the chaotic condition of the administration and his unsatisfied yearnings all conspire to render him almost insane. Through dramatic action and clash of personalities the novelist visualises the entire situation before us. The flight of Sree adds fuel to the fire. The technique used by Bankim Chandra in making the intervening

incidents real—the shifting of the view point from the main characters of the novel to disinterested spectators not only invests the development of action with objective reality but brings out its effect on the common people; so that when the stage is set for the barbarous punishment to be meted out to Jayanti we seem to hear the mutter of dissatisfaction from the common people and witness the blind fury of the disgruntled Rajah. To forget the bitter experiences of life and specially Sree Sitaram sinks down to the depths of dissipation and it is only the boom of the moslem cannon that rouses him. With Sitaram danger has always been an incentive to action and danger now gives the first impetus to his resurrection. The heroic spirit of Nanda, her proud answer to Sitaram infuse into him new strength. The appearance of Sree, her absolute self-surrender, her determination to die with him, move him strangely. He stands transfigured ; and when Sree and Jayanti, in that moment of inspiration, deliver themselves up to Providence, his face shines with a new determination. The old spirit returns and bravely he cuts his way through the moslem host. The art of Bankim reaches the highest point of excellence in the creation of this scene, where dramatic irony, clash of personalities, simple conversation tingling with emotion, are all used to render both character and action real.

Frustrated in his first love and marriedto one who is absolutely unmindful of worldly affairs, Saibalini is audacious enough to converse with Foster. Foster, enamoured of her beauty, carries her off; and in the boat of her captor she meets Sundari. The remonstrances of Sundari, her request that Saibalini should return home, Sundari's reproach for the neglect of her of husband's love all reveal by implication Saibalini's complex nature. Set against Sundari, her spirit of adventure, her intellectual alertness, her quick grasp of the situation are vividly brought out. When Pratap attacks Foster's boat, her daring nature would rather have an interview with the robbers themselves. After her rescue she meets Pratap in his house and there she cannot restrain herself. She swoons away at the sight of her beloved and even when she regains consciousness she trembles with emotion. The grave moral earnestness of Pratap reveals by contrast the yearning heart of Saibalini. Her tearful remonstrances with Pratap, her confession that she has lost all consciousness for good and evil and that her life has been one long stretch of misery and unhappiness on his account, her revelation of the fact that she has left home in the hope of gaining him astound his moral

nature. She stands before us as a woman rendered desperate by frustation of her desires. So long the character of Saibalani has been developed by dramatic action and clash of personalities. Desirous of revealing the inner workings by her heart Bankim Chandra now changes his technique and in an introspective mood Saibalini examines her inner self. Thus are presented before us, her distaste for life yet her desire to live; her consciousness of Pratap's contemptuous rejection yet her abiding affection for the same Pratap, her dreams of gaining his love and the stern reality which breaks upon that dream, her fear of retribution and her unconscious recoil from suicide; her remorse for leaving her husband and her anxiety to know how he has taken her disappearance. She, however, cannot forget her beloved; she must try to save him. In the august presence of the Nawab of Bengal, she, with a fearlessness born of her audacious nature, demands the release of her husband (Pratap) from the clutches of the English. Her intellectual alertness and her earnestness create a deep impression on the mind of the Nawab and she gets the escort she wants. The entire scene reaches a height of dramatic tension and is rendered significant by the implied contrast between the grave composure and self-restraint of Mir Kasim on the one hand and the adroit acting of Saibalini on the other. The artifice by means of which she rescues Pratap is worthy of her resourcefulness: and in the midst of the beautiful moon-lit landscape they both swim in the blue waters of the wide river. The beauty of nature interpenetrates their entire personality and for sometime at least they experience a happiness which has never been theirs. The affectionate call of Pratap almost makes her swoon with delight. In the midst of her happiness Pratap, true to his inner moral nature, seeks to persuade Saibalini to renounce her love. The entire atmosphere becomes instinct with deep pathos, a pathos rendered deeper by the tearful pleadings of the unhappy woman. She halts and falters but at last sacrifices herself. For the sake of her beloved she gives up what she has so long cherished as the most valued treasure of her life. The old Saibalini is dead and a new Saibalini flees from the presence of Pratap. Beauty, happiness, love—they are not for her. In the dense forest, in the midst of storm and thunder she sits alone. In solitude she finds no solace. Thus struggling with herself she is rescued and taken to a cave. Darkness surrounds her on all sides. Rendered absolutely hopeless she sinks into a mental stupor during which she dreams a symbolical

dream of retribution. And then in the midst of that solitude she hears the grave utterances of an almost supernatural being directing her to do penace for twelve years. The imagination of the novelist creates natural scenes perfectly altered to the mood of Saibalini. Nature and the human mind are wonderfully hermonised one to the other. The gradual unfolding of the symbolical dream, the cry of Saibalini and the immediate response it receives send a thrill through our mind and render the scene itself almost supernatural. From one extreme the strong personality of Saibalini goes to the other. She concentrates her entire self on the meditation of her husband. The figure of Chandrasekhar grows more and more distinct and at last replaces Pratap. She dreams and sees visions. In each and every one of them Chandrasekhar comes and rescues her from distress. It is when she becomes all absorbed in Chandrasekhar that Bankim Chandra introduces her to her husband. The entire scene is described in a passage which, for its imaginative intensity, reaches the high water-mark of art and then her conversation with her husband, her pathetic humility, her self-abasement, her sudden visions of the fearful tortures of hell! No wonder, her reason snaps and she becomes insane. The natural evolution of Saibalini's character is thus revealed and its slow growth made real to us. The intrusion of psychic force and supernatural agencies however makes the further development of her personality rather unreal. It might be an artistic necessity to introduce such a force for bringing her back to sanity but the fact remains that she is no longer a human being. We can no longer feel her to be one of us. She is now a mere automaton, jerked hither and thither by supernatural forces, and her transformation loses much of its significance. Scientific thought can never be utilised by art unless and until it becomes current coin of the realm, definitely correlated to the emotional experiences of the common man. It is because the psychic force was not so correlated in Bankim's novel that he fails to assimilate it to the spirit of the imaginative world he created.

In both Sitaram and Saibalini, in spite of wide divergences in the use of artistic technique the fundamental conception remains the same—the conception of a character frustrated in its desire by the force of circumstances and the opposition of the beloved, descending because of such frustration into the depths of ruin and at the end retrieved by the same personality who has been responsible for all its misery and unhappiness. Man by coming into contact with new

thoughts and ideals often develop a new self. The environment, social, intellectual or moral, cannot but leave its impress upon his mind. It is only natural that a change in environment will be responsible for a corresponding change in man. Older ideals are very often absolutely submerged in the flood tide of his newer experiences and out of these very experiences rises a new man. There are, however, elements in the human personality which can never be totally destroyed. Centuries of accumulated human experience in the form of traditions, ages of acquired traits have gone to their formation; and although, for the time being, there might be an apparent suppression of these fundamental elements a sudden turn of events, a slight change in the environment, just a shock to the mind, bring them back again. They might be developed or slightly changed but nevertheless they return stronger and more effective.

It is a very interesting psychological study—this reversion to type; and Bankim Chandra has illustrated it in several of his characters. Prafulla appears at first as a wife, selfless and devoted, and, at the same time, dignified and calm. Training at the hands of a philosophical robber transforms her entirely. Her conversation with Bhabani Pathak reveals her intellectual powers and her submission shows her wisdom of choice. The essential woman in her with all its love and affection is brought out by sharp contrast against Nishi who has dedicated her entire self to God. But this womanly love and womanly attachment is rigorously directed god-ward and after a stringent system of training spread over four years she is ready to dedicate her wealth and her powers to God. She is determined to rise above the desires of human life and render disinterested service to humanity as guided by the inner voice, yet she cannot however forget her husband. When in her barge she waits expectantly for his appearance she becomes nervous and cannot remain quiet. Her inner self is as much out of tune as her music. As she talks with him she cannot refrain from shedding tears and when the tension grows too much for her she leaves the task to Nishi. She even dresses herself magnificently for attracting him but wiser counsels prevail and she approaches Brojeswar simple and unadorned. She so far forgets herself as to come into closer physical contact with him and then the tremor of her person and the tears in her eyes reveal her mental strain. Certainly the woman has gained the better of the Sannyasini. One touch of reality

has destroyed the super-structure of asceticism so painfully built up by her master. Through dramatic action and significant conversation the entire scene is visualised before us. But the Sannyasini cannot be so easily suppressed. The philosophical discussions which open the crucial episode of the novel ; her determination to give herself up to the Government and save her companion, the calmness with which she waits for the impending danger—all mark her out as a disinterested Sannyasini, but when Brojeswar talks to her in endearing terms and unburdens his mind she breaks down like an ordinary woman. His offer to take her home makes her lament, " Why did I not hear it before " and it is the only incentive responsible for the skilful way in which she extricates herself and others from the clutches of the English officer. And then she renounces all and becomes the simple Prafulla that she originally was.

The same reversion to the original type we can discern in Kapalkundala as well. A simple child of nature not conversant even with the commonest affairs of life, Kapalkundala enters the world of man absolutely unsophisticated and entirely devoted to her own ideas of religion and morality. She comes into contact with the human beings of everyday life and at first feels herself out of her element. Significantly she is brought into contact with Shyama the normal Hindu wife. She cannot understand the significance of domestic happiness and would far prefer her free life in the forest. She is still the selfless devotee of her God. Yet she changes ; the environment of domestic life leaves its impress on her personality. Her older self however still lingers, it expresses itself in fearless and free movements in a total ignorance of social conventions. She does not fear slander, for slander cannot make her unchaste. Nor does she understand why her husband should take it amiss if at night she goes into the forest. Set off against the normal womanhood of her sister-in-law this aspect is clearly revealed by the novelist. The silence of the night, the sublime beauty of the forest, moon-light investing the entire landscape with a weird charm, nature in her beauty and her grandeur—they all influence her strangely. In this atmosphere reminiscent of her early life she feels the return of her early self—the self that she has almost left behind. The return of the Kapalik and the one glimpse that she has of him through the gloom of the night and the thunder of the storm strengthen this tendency. The symbolic dream that she dreams rouses the Sannyasini

in her nature and she makes up her mind to meet Matibibi like (to quote Bankim) a woman obsessed by curiosity, like a damsel desirous of seeing majestic beauty, like a ward of the ascetics who roams fearless at night, like one who is ecstatic in her devotion to Bhabani, who is blindly following her fate ; so that when Matibibi proposes that she should leave Nabakumar and she finds in her heart of hearts no deep affection for him she readily agrees. She has reverted to her older self. The mother of the universe, her Providence, the protectress of the nation has ordered her to sacrifice her life and who is she to oppose? In a trance she moves along ; in a trance she hears Bhairabi calling her, and when the Kapalik summons her she follows her fate mutely and without any opposition. She has no fear, no attachment to life and thus she confronts death. Through description, self-revelation and dramatic action the entire scene is visualised before our eyes.

Matibibi when she first appears, is a court-lady radiant in her beauty and scintillating with wit and humour ; and as such she leaves a deep impression on our mind. Her interest in Nabakumar, her wistful desire to be remembered by him, her laconic reply "he is my husband" arrest our attention at the very outest. And then the novelist proceeds to analyse and explain. Her life in the capital, her passionate and impulsive nature, her ambition to become the chief consort of Selim, her keen intellect, her profound knowledge of the different threads of intrigue are prominently brought forth before us. Signs are not, however, wanting of a distinct change in her outlook after her meeting with Nabakumar. She loves to talk about him and even in the midst of anxious fears about the future she smiles an enigmatic smile as new thoughts and desires float before her imagination. Through significant dialogue and mysterious suggestions the scene is made instinct with possibilities. Her conversation with Meher-un-nisa brings out by contrast the wit, intellect and inner selves of both, yet the self-satisfaction she suddenly experiences when she finds her future hopes shattered invests her personality with an added mystery—a mystery which is all the more strenghthened by her renunciation of the proferred love of Selim and her determination to leave Agra for Bengal. She now confesses that her pursuit of happiness has, so long, been absolutely fruitless. The pleasures of her dissolute life have been like dead Sea fruits beautiful outside but ashes within. She clings to the memory of her meeting with Nabakumar and extracts from it a happiness

which has never been hers before. Her old self has returned with all its deep love for her husband. Her encounter with Selim, her conversation with Peshman, the novelist's explanation all conspire to strengthen this impression. Her yearning heart goes out to Nabakumar; she offers him untold riches and when he refuses her offer she bursts into tears. Love makes her humble. She does not aspire to be Nabakumar's wife; but an attendant, a mere menial in his household. In case even that is impossible she is satisfied if she gets a glimpse of his person every now and then. She is stunned by his refusal and flings herself at his feet imploring him not to discard her who has refused the throne of Agra for his sake. Thwarted in the fruition of her love, she turns round like a lioness and reveals herself as Nabakumar's first wife Padmabati. Even in her revenge she has womanly compassion for her rival in love and gratitude, shines out of her countenance as Kapalkundala promises to part with Nabakumar. She is no longer Lutf-un-nissa, the courtier, but Padmavati, the woman.

So far as Debi Chaudhurani, Mati Bibi, and Kapalkundala are concerned the novelist first builds up the personality of the character and then shows how this personality is, for the time being, encrusted over with traits imposed upon it either by the environment or by the development of action. In the case of Zeb-un-nissa, however, we have no such indication. It is not a distinct personality which, after partial eclipse, emerges victorious. It is rather womanhood, eternal and universal, which lies smothered under the burden of dissipations and ambitious intrigues. Nor does this fundamental trait develop or struggle slowly along but it seems to burst asunder, all on a sudden, the bonds which restricted its growth and appears fully grown and developed after the moment of crisis. The novelist has, therefore, to change his technique to suite this different situation. Accordingly Zeb-un-nissa appears before us in the midst of the surroundings of the Moghul Court proudly comtemptuous of the ordinary conventions of life and yet full of deep affection for Mobarak. Though a princess, she has the jealousy of an ordinary woman and her jealousy of Daria makes her all the more strong in her attachment. She refuses to call her attachment love and deludes herself into the belief that it is mere passion. When Mobarak returns and refuses to take up his old life, Zeb-un-nissa becomes indignant. Her very prestige is at stake. Yet she cherishes in her heart of hearts a yearning desire to meet him again

and summons him to her side. When, however, he uncerimoniously brushes aside her summons she contrives his death. She is the Sahazadi and it is, she feels, the height of impertinence on the part of Mubarak to disobey—an impertinence which she thinks should be punished by death. It is only when she learns the news of Mubarak's death that she realises herself to be a woman too. She is struck down by grief. She fears divine retribution and tries to revive Mubarak. Unsuccessful in her attempt she becomes distracted as it were by grief. Even in captivity she cannot forget him. The reverse of fortune makes her conscious of her common humanity. She prefers death at his hands and when he appears before her she cannot bear the nervous tension and swoons away. She is indeed defeated and humbled. In her humility she forgets differences of status and creed and implores Chanchalkumari to save her from utter destruction. There is storm in nature and a storm raging in the heart of Zeb-un-nissa. In a mood of introspective analysis, she thinks of herself, her wealth and her dissipated life. Remorse gives her no rest. Every experience at that critical state of her mind reminds her of Mubarak; and out of the deepest anguish of her heart the cry rings out even above the din of the storm, "Either Mubarak or Suicide," and the climax of this scene instinct with dramatic suspense and dramatic intensity, is reached when Mubarak himself appears on the scene. Her heart is full of love and she weeps tears of joy. Her humility, her remorse, her determination even to sacrifice her future prospects in Delhi show that she is no longer the Sahazadi but a woman pure and simple. To become the wedded wife of Mubarak is now her highest aspiration. And thus the true heart of a woman emerges triumphant. In the delineation of Zeb-un-nissa's character there is a no slow lingering over details, no gradual development. Through dramatic action and significant dialogue, through self-analysis and self-criticism the character is revealed to us. We are confronted with a sudden change which surprises us convincingly and rounds off her character.

There is thus a marked variety in the distinct types of characters Bankim Chandra creates. In some, his entire attention is directed towards mere building up of the character concerned; in others, he is satisfied when he creates a type and usesincidents mainly to illustrate its different characteristics. Sometimes his characters develop up to a certain point and then remain static, or, after a careful building up they reveal their inner selves in a situation of

VERACITY (OR TRUTH IN ITS MORAL ASPECT)

ABANI MOHAN ROY, M.A.

THE word truth may be used in various senses—ethical, epistemological, logical, etc. We are here concerned with truth only in its ethical or moral aspect.

Truth in the ethical sense is called veracity. Ethical truth or veracity consists in the agreement of an assertion with the speaker's or writer's belief. Thus, writes Dr. S. K. Maitra in "The Ethics of the Hindus," when a thing or event whose nature has been ascertained by perception or inference or reliable testimony is correctly apprehended by the speaker and described faithfully in suitable terms so that there is no misapprehension of his meaning in the hearers, we have veracity or truthfulness. Veracity, therefore, implies two things; (1) that the object as ascertained by valid proof is to be correctly apprehended by the speaker's mind, *i.e.*, there should be no mistake or error; and (2) that the speaker should faithfully describe his own idea in his speech, *i.e.*, there should be neither intentional deceit nor indulgence in meaningless words from inability to express oneself. Thus veracity means the disposition not to deceive; that is, not to be false to one's ownself or others. Veracity is thus the opposite of mendacity or lying which consists in deliberately deceiving oneself or others.

We have seen that veracity consists in the agreement of an assertion with the speaker's belief. But, according to some moralists, even such agreement is not the only condition of veracity. It is assumed by these moralists that the ultimate purpose of veracity is the good (or *hita*) of mankind. Hence even the most truthful speech which injures creatures (*i.e.*, *Ahita Satyavachana*) or which is devoid of gentleness and agreeableness (*i.e.*, *Apriya Satyavachana*) falls short of veracity in the true sense; in other words, such harmful or disagreeable truth-speaking is to be reckoned amongst the forms of unrighteousness, not as the virtue of truthfulness, but as a kind of falsehood. Hence there are circumstances where truth (as doing harm to mankind) is falsehood, and falsehood (as doing good to mankind)

is truth, and the righteous man in such circumstances prefers the latter. Thus the ruffian who is out for pillage and murder should not be told the truth, and if silence will excite suspicion it is proper even to put him on the wrong scent by a lie. In this case truth-speaking is wrong, since it is likely to do more harm than good, while lying is right, since it averts an evil. Similarly disagreeable truth-speaking about another's real faults is a sin if the plain blunt truth, instead of serving any good purpose, wounds him mortally. (How far this condition of veracity is satisfactory will be considered in the sequel.)

We may now distinguish two phases of veracity ; a negative side and a positive side. The former is expressed in the form of the imperative 'thou shalt not lie ;' the latter is expressed in the formula 'be true unto yourself and others.' Let us first deal with the positive side. In its positive aspect veracity requires that we should correctly apprehend objects as ascertained by valid proof and should assist our neighbours in the acquisition of correct ideas of things and in the eschewing of all wrong notions that may interfere with right appreciation of reality. Positive veracity thus manifests itself in the acquisition of correct ideas by us and in the communication of them to other ; so it takes the form of knowing, teaching, preaching, advice, instruction, admonition and correction. And hence it is my duty to help the individual whom I find in search of the right path, or to be following the wrong path, according to my lights. This positive phase of veracity has been very much neglected by moralists, who mainly discuss its negative side. Hence we now turn to the negative side of veracity which requires that we should not tell a lie.

To lie means willingly and knowingly to tell an untruth in order to deceive oneself or others. We generally lie by words, be they spoken or written ; but we can also lie without words, by acts and gestures, or even by keeping silent. Hence the word lying should be taken in a wide sense so as to cover not merely "black lie," which consists in positive misrepresentation or omission of truth, but also what may be called "white lie," which consists in stating a thing in such a way as to convey a false impression, *e.g.*, diplomacy, reservation, equivocation and dodging. We should further remember that lying does not refer merely to language. We lie also by our actions, if we do things in such a way as to imply that we intend to do something else, or that we have done something else, which in fact we neither have done nor intend to do. Hence exaggeration, suppression,

equivocation, hypocrisy, and evasions or subterfuges are all inconsistent with the spirit of veracity ; indeed, these are to be treated as lies, for though they may agree with some real objective state, condition or circumstance, they do not really express what the speaker has in his mind. Truthfulness implies honest and sincere expression of one's own conviction. Hence instead of using ambiguous language we should honestly try to use words as closely expressive as possible of our thoughts, feelings and desire. Indeed, veracity requires that we should not, by speech or action or gesture or silence, produce a false impression on others' minds.

It may be mentioned here that a lie may be spoken by myself (*Krita*), or may be spoken by another at my instigation (*Kárita*), or approved by me, though spoken by another (*Anumodita*). Now, in all these cases there is a lapse from strict veracity, and I am responsible for the lie in each case. Hence it is a sin on my part not only to tell a lie, but also to approve another's lie or to instigate others to speak falsehood. Indeed, even the suggestion of a lie, if it leads another to unintentional misrepresentation of facts, is as much of a lapse from strict veracity as a lie spoken by myself.

We may now point out that the maxim of veracity has a double application. On the one hand, it means that we should use words expressive of our thoughts, *i.e.*, we should say what we mean. On the other hand, it means that we should act up to our own words, for instance, that we should fulfil our promises and observe the contracts into which we have entered. Now, veracity in the second sense is good faith (or being true to our promises) ; in other word, good faith is a form of veracity.

It will not be out of place to discuss here a little more elaborately the relation between veracity and good faith. Some moralists identify the duty of veracity with that of good faith on the ground that in both cases we fulfil the obligation alike by effecting a correspondence between words and facts. It should be remembered, however, that though veracity resembles good faith in prescribing a correspondence between words and facts, there is yet some obvious difference between them. For veracity requires that we should make our statement correspond with fact, while good faith requires that we should make fact correspond with statement. Indeed, the difference is deeper than this. For while in veracity we make statements in conformity to facts irrespective of any expectation that may be raised in others by our statements, in good faith

we act in conformity to expectations raised in others by our statements ; in other words, good faith requires that we should act not in conformity to our own statements, but in conformity to expectations that we have intentionally aroused in others by our statements. Thus veracity and good faith differ, and hence cannot be identical with each other. It must be admitted, however, that inspite of this difference of point to view, they yet may be regarded as branches of a common stock in so far as both imply a certain correspondence between words and their objective referents. Indeed, veracity and good faith, though different in some respects, are related in the sense that the latter, as already remarked, is a form of the former.

From what has been said above it is clear that veracity requires that we should always so speak and act as to express as clearly as possible what we believe to be true, and that, having expressed our meaning, we should try to act according to it.

Now, in connection with veracity two questions arise, *viz.*, (1) why should we speak the truth, *i.e.*, be veracious ? In other words, should we follow the maxim of veracity unconditionally or only as means to an end beyond itself ? (2) Should truth be spoken always and under all circumstances ? In other words, will it be a sin to tell a lie in any particular case under special circumstances ? If not what is the ethical justification of a lie ?

To these questions different answers are given by different thinkers. We shall consider here the answer from the standpoint of the morality of common sense, known as Dogmatic Intuitionism. We, however, find that the common sense account is not quite consistent. For common sense holds that the maxim of veracity is binding absolutely, so that truth should be spoken unconditionally under all circumstances. At the same time, however, it does not decisively condemn falsehood in every case, and thereby seems to admit, though vaguely and reluctantly, that the principle of veracity is not of universal application. Thus it seems to admit that it is not wrong to tell a lie in much cases as the following :—

(1) A man speaks falsely to a man who is dangerously ill in order to conceal facts that may give him a rude shock, or he narrates fictitious stories to children in order to impart moral instruction to them, or he tells falsehood to them on matters upon which it is thought that they should not know the truth, as the knowledge of the truth will be harmful to them. Common sense seems to justify lying in such cases

on the ground that *it* promotes the good of those to whom it is spoken.

(2) A man tells a lie to a robber who wants to injure an innocent man who has stealthily taken shelter in my house or in a neighbouring house. According to common sense falsehood is not wrong in such a case as it averts an evil and does good to an innocent man.

(3) A man uses certain conventional phrases or expressions current in polite society, *e. g.*, he declares that 'he has great pleasure in accepting' a vexatious invitation, or is 'the obedient servant' of one whom he regards as an inferior, or he begins a letter with the phrase 'Dear Sir,' even if the person addressed is not particularly dear to him, and may even be an avowed enemy, or he uses the reply that he is 'not at home' to an inconvenient visitor. These phrases seem to deceptive, and hence their use is inconsistent with the true spirit of veracity. Yet their use seems to be justified by common sense as they indicate love of tradition.

(4) An atheist or a republican joins in the singing of 'God save the king.' But this solemn recitation of a creed that is not believed indicates hypocrisy which goes against the maxim of truth. Common sense, however, seems to justify such an action on the ground that it is an expression of patriotic feeling.

(5) A lawyer pretends to believe the false statements of his clients and makes them the basis of his pleadings in the law-courts. Common sense justifies his action on the ground that as lawer he must look only to the good of his clients. Indeed, common sense even condemns an advocate as over-scrupulous who refuses to accept those statements of his client which he knows to be false.

(6) A clergyman conceals his true belief and recites a creed in which he does not believe. Thus suppose he does not really believe that 'God is the moral governor of the world' or that 'Christ is born of a virgin.' Yet he solemnly recites these propositions in a congregation of persons who have these religious convictions. This kind of concealment is really a form of hypocrisy and may be characterised as 'pious fraud' or 'religious deception,' and is really inconsistent with the true spirit of veracity. Common sense, however, seems to justify such 'religious deception' on the ground that it is not right to disturb violently any man's religious convictions or beliefs, as they are the strongest forces which bind people together in the conduct of their lives.

(7) A man gives false answer to a question as to the manner in which he has voted at a political election when the voting is by secret ballot. Common sense will probably justify falsehood in this case because true answer to the question, or even mere refusal to answer it, will disclose an important secret, the revelation of which will go against the welfare of the state.

(8) A statement conceals a secret or speaks on a matter in such a way as to produce a false belief. Common sense will perhaps justify such actions by reference to the interest of the state.

From the above it is clear that common sense seems to justify falsehood in the above cases by explicit reference to the good of others. But though it thus justifies lying for the good of others, it condemns as mean and base the falsehood that is spoken for mere self-interest. But this attitude of common sense is not resonable, for if we are sometimes justified in telling a lie in order to defend the legitimate rights of others, it is paradoxical to say that we are not so justified to defend our own. On the whole, then, the common sense account of the maxim of veracity is not satisfactory. Common sense holds that this maxim is self-evident or axiomatic and should be unconditionally followed under all circumstances. At the same time, however, it seems to justify falsehood in some cases. And although it tries to explain away the exceptions to the principle, its reasons are not quite satisfactory.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES SINCE 1870

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II

HAVING described the comparative growth of the voluntary and the board schools down to the time of 1902, we shall now review the religious and political battles between the Conservatives and the Liberals. We shall see that the whole period from 1870 to 1902 or 1906 was characterized by religious and political battles between these two rival parties. The latter part of the 19th century saw also the gradual development of a tendency to bring all schools under public control. Movements for various types of schools for the education of the defective, epileptic, and blind children, and movements for the extension of the elementary schools were the main ones of this period.

The main theme of the problem is to show the gradual evolution of the secular elementary school system in England and Wales. It will be interesting to notice how the Conservative ideals of education through the church or voluntary school system, gave way before the Liberal ideals of education through the secular schools. The Liberal ideals, we shall see, were realised in the first years of the twentieth century.

In 1874 the Conservative party came into power in the British Parliament. It was the ministry of Disraeli. In 1876 the Conservative Government introduced in Parliament a compulsory school attendance law with a view to improving school attendance. The Act was deliberately intended to render financial aid to the voluntary school in order to relieve the voluntary school from undue financial pressure. The bill was introduced into Parliament by Viscount Sandon, and in the first reading of the bill he deplored the unsatisfactory school conditions existing in England and Wales. According to his estimation, the daily attendance of school children at the lowest calculation ought to have numbered 3,250,000 in the schools of England and Wales, but the attendance record showed only 1,800,000 children

attending schools daily. Thus, 1,450,000 children were not accounted for. Of those attending school, only 200,000 took the examination in the three upper standards and 800,000 took the examination in the three lower standards. Viscount Sandon rightly regretted that the sober wishes of the country had been very greatly disappointed in this matter.[1]

According to the provisions of the bill, no child under ten years of age was to be employed subject to the penalty to the employer, nor was any child to be employed between the ages of ten and fourteen unless he could show a certificate from His Majesty's Inspector of having passed Standard IV in reading, writing and arithmetic or having completed 250 attendances for each of five years. From the limitation imposed upon the employment of children exemption under special consideration was given to those who came under the Factory Acts that made provision for half-time attendance at school. Under the provision of the Act, day industrial schools for vagrant and refractory children were recommended. To encourage parents to send their children to school, free instruction for three years was to be given to all who had attended regularly for five years. A grant of 3*d* a week was made for average daily attendance. School boards, town councils, and boards of guardians were to see that the compulsory attendance clause was enforced.

The 1876 bill was the scene of religious and political strife. The non-conformists claimed that the bill did not promise adequate protection against their children being driven into voluntary schools; they also claimed for public control over elementary schools receiving grants under the provisions of the bill. Mr. Richard criticised the bill for the following reasons[2]:

1. The bill is unconstitutional in character: the bill provides for local taxation in the form of tuition fees without local control.

2. The bill checks the national system of education.

In 1880 another law was passed by the Conservative Government making it obligatory for the local educational authorities to make bye-laws for the enforcement of compulsory school attendance.

In 1886 the Conservative party again came into power after the failure of Mr. Gladstone's first Irish bill. A good many of the Liberal members who viewed with dismay the idea of granting home rule to

[1] Hansard.—Parliamentary Debates, 1876, p. 933.
[2] *Ibid.*, V, 230, p. 1118.

the Irish were forced out by the Gladstonian Liberals. These dissenters from the Gladstonian Liberal party joined the Conservative party, which remained in power from 1886 to 1905, with a short interruption from 1892 to 1894 (Liberal Government). During this Conservative and Unionist Government under the ministry of Lord Salisbury, technical instruction bills were passed in 1889 and 1891, authorizing the county councils to raise a tax not exceeding a penny in the pound for the support of technical schools.

In 1891 the Conservative or the Unionist Government introduced an education bill to provide for extra grants for schools remitting tuition fees. The bill was introduced into Parliament by Sir W. Hart Dyke. He contended that it was undesirable to compel the poor parents to send their children to school without giving them any relief. Some parents were very poor and could not spare the earnings of their children. So the present bill proposed to relieve the parents from the payment of fees in elementary schools. The bill proposed to grant a fee of 10*s* per head for each scholar in the elementary schools. The 10*s* grant was made for the school-going children between the ages of five and fourteen. The reasons advanced for their limitation were these:

1. This grant should be limited to that portion of the population where the compelling power is operative.

2. A great majority of those young children under five years of age were sent to the school by the parent as a distinct relief to the parent. The fee for these younger children shall in no case exceed 2*d* per child.[3]

Mr. Chamberlain, a Conservative-Unionist member heartily supported the bill but the bill was criticised by the non-conformists of the Liberal party. The non-conformists objected to the bill on two grounds:

1. They objected to the retention of fees in any form or in any class or with any limit of age in elementary schools; and

2. They objected to the exclusion of local and representative control over the administration of public money.

The non-conformists argued in favour of extending the age limit below five years of age and over 14 years of age, for according to their estimation about 120,000 infants under five years of age would be excluded from the benefits of the grant and very few children after 14 years of age would be encourged to stay in school.[4]

[3] Hansard.—Parliamentary Debates, V, 353, pp. 1840-41. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1103-04.

However, the Government acceded to extend the age limit to 3 years of age downward and 15 years of age upward. As a result elementary school education was made free for the children between 3 and 15 years of age. Thus this bill established the principle of free education.

Between 1890 and 1902 the voluntary schools found it very hard to bear the ever-increasing educational costs, for though Parliament made enlarged grants, the effect was more than counterbalanced by increased demands owing to the constantly rising standard of education. Undoubtedly the denominational schools had the support of the Conservative party and of a large section of the community, so that a determined attempt would be made to keep them as a part of the national school system. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who was opposed to the voluntary schools, became a staunch supporter of the system in 1890. According to Mr. Chamberlain's estimation, the voluntary schools cost a capital expenditure of anything from 28 to 40 millions and received over three-quarters of a million a year in voluntary subscriptions. Both Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour were staunch supporters of the denominational schools.[5]

In 1895 when the Conservative party came into power, a National Educational Conference was summoned by the Archbishop. As a result of the conference a memorial was sent to Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, stating clearly the principles to be observed in framing any new Educational Act. Education should not be divested of religion; the existing denominational system should be preserved; parents should decide the religious instruction to be provided for their children. Adequate protection should be given to safeguard the rights of conscience of church parents whose children enrolled in board schools on an equal footing with those of non-conformists in voluntary schools. Public grants should be extended to denominational schools and colleges for offering secular education. The 17*s* 6*d* grant limit should be abolished and grants should be readjusted so as to equalize the educational opportunities for both the poor and the rich schools alike. Grants from the exchequer should be increased and further facilities should be made for the federation of voluntary schools. Educational opportunities provided by school boards should be open to all on equal terms. Special religious instruction should be facilitated in both

[5] Birchenough, Charles.—History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, p. 165.

board and voluntary schools, and the establishment of denominational schools should be facilitated where parents demand such provision.[6]

In response to this Memorial the Government brought in Sir John Gorst's Education Bill of 1890, which aimed at co-ordinating the various branches of education under a single authority. According to the provisions of the bill the county council was made the chief local educational authority, with the right to control and visit elementary education and supervise technical institutions and secondary schools and to abolish the 17*s* 6*d* limit, and it made a further grant of 4*s* to voluntary schools and board schools The voluntary schools were federated and were excused from rates. They were also helped with loans. The bill limited the rating power of schools boards to 20*s* per child. It provided for separate religious instruction in all public schools where the majority of the parents desired it. Sir John Gorst, with a view to justifying these provisions, pointed out more than half of the children attended the voluntary schools, and that since 1870 the church authorities had spent over seven millions on buildings and were subscribing two-thirds of a million yearly; that the board schools were in a position to spend almost a quarter more than voluntary schools; that the tax-payers saved over 2¼ millions a year owing to the existence of voluntary schools.[7]

The Liberal party looked upon the bill with abhorrence as a reactionary measure devised to destroy the school boards, and opposed the bill strenuously.

In the next year a voluntary school bill was introduced into Parliament abolishing the 17*s* 6*d* limit, and freed schools from rates and provided an "aid grant" of 5*s* to be paid through the association of voluntary schools organized for the purpose. Another measure for the relief of necessitous school boards was passed in the same year. Both these Acts were passed as a sort of temporary expedients until a more satisfactory measure could be brought forward. The next ten years saw the unsuccessful attempt made by the Liberal party to get Parliament to agree to establish a universal system of school boards.[8]

Sir John Gorst introduced another bill into Parliament in 1899 co-ordinating the various departments of education under one board

[6] Birchenough, Charles.—History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, p. 166.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 167.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

of education The Board of Education Act of 1899 replaced the committee of council and the science and art department by a central board of education with greatly enlarged powers, under a president and parliamentary secretary, and also made provision for the establishment of a consultative committee.[9]

Thus we see the period from 1870 to 1902 was characterized by the political and religious battles over the control of elementary education in England and Wales. The Conservative party all through this period sponsored the voluntary school system and sincerely believed the voluntary school system to be the best method of giving education to the children of England and Wales. On the other hand the Liberal party constantly supported the board schools and were sincere in their belief that the education of the mass could be carried on better through these secular schools. The non-conformists section of the Liberal party raised the religious cry against the voluntary schools whenever they got a chance. This period also saw the movement for public control of the school system and the non-conformists raised the cry that "taxation without representation is illegal." We shall see very soon the realization of the public control of school systems in Mr. Balfour's Education Act of 1902. This period also saw the further extension of the school system.

CURRICULUM—1870-1902

Up to this time in the majority of cases the elementary school curriculum was academic in character. The voluntary school curriculum was more academic in character than was the board school curriculum. This rigid academic feature of the curriculum had to undergo a change to meet the demands of the changing times. Dr. Mathew Arnold's investigation revealed to him the nature of the elementary school curriculum prevailing in England and Wales in the year 1880, "I find that of the specific subject English literature, as it is too ambitiously called—in plain truth, the learning by heart and reciting of a hundred lines or two of standard English poetry—continues to be by far the most popular."[10]

[9] Hansard.—Parliamentary Debates, 1899. Also Birchenough, Charles.—History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, p. 165.

[10] Arnold, Mathew.—Report on Elementary Schools, p. 226.

Courses of elementary school curriculum in England and Wales, though prescribed by the Government Code, still leaves the local school authorities room for choice of courses for their schools. The school now prescribes the following as class subjects:—

1. Elementary Science
2. Grammar
3. Geography
4. Physical Geography
5. History, and
6. Domestic Economy.

Dr. Mathew Arnold found, as a result of his investigation, that only reading, writing, and arithmetic were the obligatory subjects of instruction.[11] An aided school was not required to teach anything except these three subjects. But additional grants were made for teaching as class subjects any two of the following: geography, natural philosophy, history, social economy, grammar, and, in the case of girls, needlework. Grants were also made for teaching any two of the following specific subjects: English literature, mathematics, Latin, French, German, mechanics, animal physiology, physical geography, botany, and, in the case of girls, domestic economy. Grants are also offered for music.

It is thus noticed that there are only three subjects that were obligatory, while nineteen more subjects in addition were optional but encouraged by grants. The French people called these optional subjects facultative subjects. Grants could be claimed for only five of these facultative subjects in a year by a school. These five facultative subjects were as follows: two class subjects, two extra or specific subjects, and music.[12]

Dr. Mathew Arnold recommended the following courses in addition to the obligatory subjects and religious instruction. These subjects were as follows:

For the Second and Third Standards—Poetry, grammar, geography, nature-study or elementary natural science, and music.

For the Third Standard—History should be added in addition to the above-mentioned, so that in general children from eight years of age to ten should all be receiving instruction in these eight subjects: Reading, writing, arithmetic, poetry, grammar, geography, nature-study and music.

[11] Arnold, Mathew.—Report on Elementary Schools, p. 231.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Children from ten years of age to thirteen should receive more advanced instruction in these eight subjects, with history added as a ninth subject. The rudiments of French and Latin, and elementary geometry should be taught to the selective few intelligent students.[13]

Thus we see the period from 1870 to 1902 is characterised by a movement for curricula reconstruction. Herbert Spencer severely criticised the existing school system in the following manner in his educational work entitled "Is Education Worth Living?".

"And here we see most distinctly the vice of our educational system. It neglects the plant for the sake of the flower. In anxiety for elegance, it forgets substance. While it gives no knowledge conducive to self-preservation—while of knowledge that facilitates gaining a livelihood it gives but the rudiments, and leaves the greater part to be picked up anyhow in after life—while for the discharge of parental functions it makes not the slightest provisions—and while for the duties of citizenship it prepares by imparting a mass of facts, most of which are irrelevant, and the rest without a key, it is diligent in teaching whatever adds to refinement, polish, éclat." [14]

According to Spencer an ideal education must include the following activities in the curriculum:

1. Education must train one to make one capable of direct self-preservation.
2. Training for indirect self-preservation, through labour.
3. Training for rearing of offspring,
4. Training for citizenship, and
5. Training for leisure.

Thus, according to Herbert Spencer, an ideal education must aim at complete preparation in all these divisions.

1. By direct self-preservation Spencer meant the preservation of life and health. Health is of prime importance for our direct self-preservation. For direct preservation of an individual as well as for the safety of a nation physical education must find a place in the school curriculum. Spencer prescribes a course of physiology to prepare for direct self-preservation.

[13] Arnold, Mathew.—Report on Elementary Schools, pp. 234-36.
[14] Spencer, Herbert.—Education, Intellectual, Moral and Physical, pp. 38-39.

2. By indirect self-preservetion is meant ability to carry one's economic load. The surest way to train one to carry one's economic load is to give him training in some vocation. Herbert Spencer prescribes the following courses for the preparation of indirect self-preservation [15]:

(1) Mathematics
(2) Physics
(3) Chemistry
(4) Biology
(5) Science of Society.

3. The proper care of children is very important and difficult. The future career of a child depends on the training he receives at the hands of his parents. The lack of proper care may result in the death of a child. Herbert Spencer found that the children do not receive right and proper training. They do not receive instruction in the right subjects. They are generally required to memorize abstract words without any intelligent understanding. The children, according to Herbert Spencer, should be given first-hand knowledge of things by personal contact with them and then this knowledge should be supplemented by book study. The physical, mental and moral training of children is dreadfully defective. A knowledge of the laws of life is needed on the part of parents for the proper rearing of children. A knowledge of physiology and the elementary truths of psychology is indispensable for the right upbringing of children. [16]

4. Citizenship training. To be a good citizen of the state children must be trained in civic virtues. This civic virtue can be achieved through the study of history and sociology. [17]

5. Training for leisure. Art and nature-study furnishes a good training for the proper use of recreation.

Herbert Spencer prefers science to language, because science cultivates judgment and not only is science best for intellectual discipline but it is also best for moral discipline. [18]

15 Spencer, Herbert.—Education, pp. 28-36.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

BALFOUR'S EDUCATIONAL ACT OF 1902

We have noticed in our last issue the keen competition between the voluntary and the board schools. The educational costs also increased tremendously. We have noticed also that the voluntary schools are financially more embarrassed than the board schools and it became impossible for the voluntary schools to meet successfully the increased educational costs. The Conservative Government then in power, with a view to removing the financial difficulties of the voluntary schools, introduced an education bill in 1902. Mr. Balfour, the Prime Minister and nephew of Lord Salisbury, who, like other Conservatives, was a staunch supporter of the voluntary schools, introduced his educational bill in the House of Commons on March 24, 1902.

The bill included in its clauses the following principles:

1. The costs of giving secular instruction in all schools should be made a charge on public funds, whether local or imperial.

2. The capital expenditure on buildings, all necessary repairs and alterations should be borne by the body to which the school belonged.

3. The voluntary school managers should have the power to appoint and discharge teachers, but one-third of their number should be appointed by the local authority. The bill provided for one single authority for all grades of schools, *viz.*, (*a*) Primary, (*b*) Secondary, and (*c*) Technical.

This education authority would be responsible to the ratepayers for heavy expenses and will be the rating authority for the district, and the voluntary schools should share equally with the non-voluntary schools the proceeds of the rates so as to enable the voluntary schools to bear their part in the scheme of national education.

The authority according to this bill was the county council in counties and the borough councils in county boroughs, and the council of each borough and urban district. These councils would appoint educational committees, subject to the approval of the Board of education. The county councils and borough councils would raise the second vote and in case the rate proves insufficient, power would be granted to raise the limit by provisional order. [19]

[19] Annual Register, 1902, p. 101.

The bill was opposed by the Liberal party and the non-conformists. They objected on the ground that—

1. While throwing the whole burden of the maintenance of denominational schools on public funds, it did not guarantee any real public control over the management of the schools so maintained. This resulted, in effect, in a new endowment of the Church of England.

2. It perpetuated the pressure of religious tests in the profession of elementary teaching. Resolutions were passed by the National Free Church Council, the London Congregational Union, the General Committee of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies denouncing the bill and the non-conformists threatening to stop the payment of the education rate if the bill should become law.[20]

The bill was, however, enacted into law.

Colonel Kenyon Slaney moved an amendment in the following words, " Religious instruction shall be given in a school not provided by the local education authority in accordance with the tenor of the provisions of the trust deed relating thereto, and shall be under the control of the managers." [21]

Mr. Birchenough describes the effect of the Act in the following words:

".....the Education Act of 1902 is a landmark in the history of English education. It represents an immense forward step comparable to that taken by the Act of 1870. The policy of supervising and assisting the work of voluntary associations came to an end, so far as elementary education was concerned, and the state assumed widely increased responsibility for the general education of the people. In other words, it marked the close of a period of partition, and the beginning of an era of annexation.

" The effect of the Act was to bring all grades of education into much closer relationship than was possible at any previous period. The inter-dependence of all classes of schools was more clearly realized, and the passage of children from the elementary school to higher institutions was enormously facilitated. A more generous view was taken of the scope of education. Greater attention was given to the organization of continuation and trade schools, to questions of child labour, blind alley employment and the like. The position of teachers

[20] Annual Register, 1902, p. 108.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

as a body, and especially of those in non-provided schools, was steadily improved. There was a great development of interest in educational experiments and a considerable expansion of training college accommodation and of means for enabling teachers to keep in touch with educational developments. In short, the existence of strong and alert local authorities responsible for the educational policy of their particular areas contributed materially to raising the general level of national education."[22]

Thus we see that in the beginning of the twentieth century the state assumed the policy of controlling the general education of the people. Education now became a function of the state.

The Liberal Government in Power, 1907

In 1907 the Liberal party came into power after a long period of time. The Liberal Government attempted to abolish the dual system of council and voluntary schools. Mr. Birrell, minister of education, introduced in Parliament in 1906 an important bill to remove the grievances of the non-conformists. After 1st January, 1908, all public rate-supported voluntary schools were to be handed over to the local authority and become "provided" schools. The local authority was empowered to settle the terms of the transfer of these voluntary schools, and the school trustees—and if they fail, three special commissioners—would settle the terms, against whose decision there was to be no appeal. The Cowper-Temple clause was to be obligatory in all schools and no teacher was to be under any obligation to impart religious instruction.

In the transferred schools denominational teaching might be given on two mornings in the week at the expense of the particular denomination. If four-fifths of the parents demanded schools of a denominational character, "extended facilities" for special religious instruction would be granted on every school day.

Amendments to almost every clause were made in the House of Lords, providing for an opportunity to give denominational teaching in every type of school, and at the same time setting the state-aided schools entirely free from local control. The bill was, however, withdrawn.

[22] Birchenough, Charles.—History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, pp. 184-85.

Three other bills were introduced to limit the rate to council schools and to transfer the voluntary schools to the local education authorities. These three bills were Mr. McKenna's bill of 1908, Bishop of St. Asaph's bill of the same session, and Mr. Runciman's bill of 1908.[23] All these bills were introduced by the Liberal Government to transfer the voluntary schools to the local education authority but failed to achieve the end.

In the beginning of the twentieth century we see the realization of new ideals in education. The child drew the attention of the educators—the Pestalozzian movement, Montessorian movement, Kindergarten movement and Herbert Spencer's pedagogical treatises did much to bring about a change in educational thoughts. Education of the poorer classes was no more looked upon as a parochial relief.

The mere teaching of the three R's is now considered to be an inadequate preparation for the advanced stage of civilization. The attention of the educators is now shifted from the subject matter to the child. The importance of the child to society is now realized. Various methods are now devised to improve the moral, physical, intellectual and economical welfare of the child. The Great War also revealed the importance of mass education to the nation.

The Education Act of 1906 authorized the local authorities to organize " School Canteen Committees " whose duty was to provide good meals at a cheap rate for children who were not able, owing to lack of good food, to participate in the benefits of education provided for them.

The Education Committees were also empowered to raise a rate of ½*d* in the £ subject to the approval of the Board of Education, to provide free meals to the children of the poorer parents. These school canteens, besides providing suitable nourishment, exercised salutary influences in developing good manners, morals and character of the young children.

The Education Act of 1907 authorized the local education authorities to establish vacation schools, vacation classes, play centres, either in the school or outside, as an example in the country. This Act also made it obligatory upon all local authorities to provide for the medical inspection of all school children under the direction of the Board of Education.

[23] Birchenough, Charles.—History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, pp. 189-91.

Special grants were made to aid in the expenditure of medical inspection for elementary school children undertaken by the local education authorities. Open air schools and provision of school baths received special care and attention. Special care was also given to clothing, personal hygiene and physical education, to lighting, cleaning, ventilation of school buildings, improved cloak rooms, school furniture and reading rooms, etc.[24]

In 1914, 1,218,238 meals were provided for the children by local educational authorities. The number of children fed during the years ending March 31, 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918 were 422,401, 118,114, 65,301 and 60,582 respectively. The total amount of money paid by the parents for the meals provided for their children during the years referred to was £4,225, £11,324, £13,862 and £16,610 respectively. In 1922-23, 17,171,000 meals were provided, the net cost of the meals being about £255,800.[25]

In 1924-25, the total number of meals provided was 10,236,718. This figure presents a decrease of 738,502 as against the numbers supplied in the previous year.[26]

On the 1st May, 1926, 54,057 children were fed. The number of meals provided rose to 2,363,503 in the week ended 3rd July. This increase in the number of meals provided was due to a strike in the coal mines. The average number of meals provided for the whole country including the normal feeding areas never rose above 9·2 meals per child per week.

(To be continued)

24 Birchenough, Charles.—History of Elementary Education, p. 197.
25 Report of the Board of Education for 1914-15, p. 18; 1917-18, p. 9; 1922-23, p. 150.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

THE SCOPE AND POSSIBILITIES OF MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

AMALESH GHOSH, M.A., B.Sc.

MASS education in India has passed through, more or less, a chequered career but at no time has any attempt been made to have it well organised. The question is strewn with intricacies and has baffled, to a certain extent of course, the honest endeavours and devoted attention of workers, educationists and even of successful administrators to bring it within their grips, since the beginning of this century. National consciousness, political renaissance—so to say—made itself felt in India from the time of the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, during whose regime, no head of a government department was left without extensive programme to carry through. His contemplation of one reform and the consideration of the next, in every sphere of administration, including education, proceeded at an amazing speed. This period was followed by the Swadeshi movement days and synchronised with the comparatively dull atmosphere of the Morley-Minto reforms, during which no substantial changes were made in the educational world till Mr. Gokhale's Resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council to make Compulsory Primary education permissive in the provinces was introduced, and the subsequent Bill on similar lines was debated and defeated by a majority of votes.

Till then, and for a considerable time afterwards, the Central Government used to be looked upon as the fountain of all policy, and the provincial Governments used to derive inspiration, so to say, from the Circulars and Resolutions issued by them from time to time. These formed practically the frame-work, upon which the provincial Governments used to build their programme of work, adjusting them, of course, to the local needs and conditions. Since the early days of this century more attention has been paid to Vernacular education with a view to securing men for staffing the Primary schools in the rural areas. The qualifications of some of these teachers, it may seem strange to many, in these days of unemployment in the ranks of educated youngmen, ranged from an education equivalent to a pass in class IV of a Primary school to the Middle Vernacular Certificate, in

nost cases. The number of Guru Training schools or the institutions for the training of teachers was small. Out of a total of about 3,00,000 eachers in the Primary schools of India, there were about 80,000 who ıad attained the qualifications up to the Middle school stage and were rained, *i.e.*, a little over 26%. The percentage of trained teachers n British India is about 45 at present, (Madras 48, Bombay 48, Bengal 25, U. P. 66, the Punjab 53, Burma 43, C. P. 46, Assam 36).

The want of suitable educational qualifications and of training may have adversely affected the quality of instruction and the failure to produce that conscientious service may have seriously crippled the growth of education and of general morale. This problem which had been so engrossingly demanding the attention of the administrators, was met with by framing a syllabus for the lower secondary (Vernacular) and the Primary schools in a way, so as to produce men who would be able, to a certain extent, to fulfil the obligations of a teacher in a Primary school, specially in the rural and the back-ward areas.

Japan introduced an educational system in 1872. By this, Elementary education was made compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 12, which lasted for 6 years. Later on, the principle of Japan's education was laid down on Oct. 30, 1890 by the issue of the *Imperial Rescript*, by the Emperor Meiji, on education. Every child attending a school has to learn that *Rescript* by heart. In the year 1934, there were 25,705 Elementary schools attended by 978,718 children out of a total of 11,24,538 children of school-going age. That is about 99.6% of these children attended the schools while only 45,814 children *i.e.* ·4% remained outside the school. There were 245, 723 teachers in the Elementary schools of Japan of whom less than one-third were women. England introduced limited compulsion about the same time as Japan did, and considering the progress made, and the results gained, Japan's achievement must be regarded as wonderful. The results indicate only a part of the progress Japan has made in the educational sphere.

In India, the growth has not been uniform throughout the country as a whole. The attention paid by Bombay to Primary education as regards expenditure and provision of schools far outshines the other provinces. There, a Primary school is to be found in every two villages and the amount spent per school, and per teacher, is handsome compared to the pitiable state of things, specially in Bengal

and Bihar, where there are the largest number of schools which are managed by the single teacher. A policy of concentration and of consolidation seems to be the best solution. We have dissipated enough energy and money, more must not be allowed to go to waste. It may be the national characteristic, it may be the racial stubborness and determination that might have placed Japan in that advantageous position amongst the countries of the East, but she has made this progress by her contact with the thoughts and culture of the Western countries. India has been longer in direct touch with the British institutons than Japan but the progress of India's education has been much sliower.

India has, within her boundaries, places which have much higher literacy figures than that of British India. Baroda had about 24% males and 4·7% females ; Cochin had 31·7% males and 11·5% females ; Travancore had 38% males and 17·3% females; Ceylon had 56·3% males and 21·2% females as literates in 1921, when the figure for British India stood at about 5%. The higher figures of literacy of those places adjoining British India may be worth the perusal so far as the methods employed for the education of the people are concerned. As a rule, the women of those places are in a more advantageous position than those in some of the provinces of British India. No purdah is observed there and they move about more freely. Women in the southern provinces, specially in Madras, Bombay and Guzrat, have greater freedom of movement than the women of Bengal, U. P., Bihar and the Punjab, whether they are Hindus or Moslems. It is a happy sign that the barrier is being broken rapidly and the women of both the communities are receiving education in schools and colleges in increasing numbers. The growth has to move on with a greater speed. Besides, more women teachers will have to be induced to take up the profession of teaching, specially in the infant stages and in the Nursery schools, of which there are not many at present. The curriculum for women's education will have to be carefully re-modelled so as to make education more conducive to social conditions. A larger number of women teachers should be induced to take to this profession in the rural areas within limited restrictions, if need be. This procedure has been found everywhere to produce good results in so far as foundations of effective education are concerned. Ways and means will have to be found out for any scheme of expansion in this direction of female education.

The problem of Mass education in India is essentially different from that of the adult education movement and all that it implies in the progressive countries. Attempts to expand Primary education "en masse" have resulted in huge wastage ; the contributory causes being the inadequacy of the existing organisations of Inspection, Administration and Control ; the lack of administrative experience of the non-officials to whom power had been delegated ; the paucity of sufficiently qualified and trained teachers for the schools in the villages ; the want of sufficient funds to bring the whole scheme under their control ; the fact that children in India become economic units of the family as soon as they reach a certain age which is earlier than when they may be allowed to leave the school, and not infrequently, the feeling of distrust amongst the controlling machinery, which manifested itself.

To secure better results, trained teachers are required. Facilities for the training of teachers will have to be made at every stage. With the consolidation of Primary schools and the provision of better and qualified teachers who would also be trained, there should be better finance and better scale of pay for the teachers than what are provided for at present. In the Western countries, the teachers receive fairly good salary so that they may be able to concentrate their attention to their profession and not dissipate their energy in other vocations to earn their bread. In America, for example, qualified men are encouraged to take up the teaching posts in the Primary schools. B.A.'s and M.A.'s are given better scales of pay and prospects for becoming teachers in the Primary schools. Unless we can provide for better pay to the teachers with a view to attracting better men, the system will clog everywhere and we shall have to carry on with the patched up skeleton of a system of education. With qualified and trained teachers enjoying better emoluments and a consolidated number of Primary schools suitably administered by a department of education or a Board, which should be alive, not only to the educational and social needs of the people, but should also be prepared to have the best of the progressive countries in educational practices and methods adopted in the schools, the system of education will have a smooth sailing and will produce better results.

Through periodical overhaul and stock-taking in the course of its growth during more than 100 years that have gone by, our system of education has reached that stage where a halt should be called for

effecting extensive as well as intensive growth. In every stage, that change is necessary which will be in furtherance of the cause for which it stands. For any change in administration and expansion, the claim of Primery education is foremost in which much of the available material may be utilised for an ordered growth without in any way hindering the other stages of education. If there is any congestion of suitably educated youths in the field of employment, will it not be advisable to make use of that talent in large numbers in the teaching profession ? The increased production in the secondary and the University stages will thus find an outlet besides those which are being found out and being provided for them in the various vocations. The sooner this becomes an accomplished fact, the better for the cause. Voluntary efforts have not produced that amount of satisfactory results which may be looked for in the primary stage. The otherwise disorganised state of Primary education-cum-Mass education is a great impediment in all-round progress of the country as a whole. The process of its evolution and its growth has been watched for a pretty long time. More time may not be wasted. The State should now come in and take up the cause.

Various factors are involved in this unwieldy growth of Primary education. From the question of Administrative control of the schools to the problem of Curriculum and actual teaching, the whole field is beset with multiplicity of ideas and of details each of which need careful consideration before any scheme may be put into operation to gain good results.

The Wardha scheme of Education which has captured the imagination of educationists for the last three years, has now been approved by the Central Board of Education without in any way commiting themselves to the financial responsibility. The scheme was put into operation in some provinces, and from the nature of the control and management of the schools under the scheme, it appears that state-control and state-aid are pre-supposed in the scheme. The bigger problem of applying it wholesale has not yet been thought of and its nature will only be understood when that point is touched. It seems the scheme will function best when it is controlled by the state. The district Councils on the lines of that prevailing in Madras or in the Punjab, or as is provided for in the Bengal Act of 1930, would be the most effective for the purposes of co-ordination, consolidation and administration of the schools in a district. There may be branch

councils in the sub-divisions or taluks. The responsibility of supervision, control and of giving grant-in-aid may not be divided amongst the different local bodies. Necessary steps should be taken to concentrate the finances on one controlling authority. Contributions from the Government, local bodies and the proceeds of land tax, if any, should be given over to that body for disbursement. The practice of looking for finances from varied bodies has led to immense troubles in the management of the schools. All the resources should be concentrated.

The district educational councils will make proper arrangements for the training of teachers. They may have a Central Training College or may have Colleges in the different educational centres of a district to train the would-be teachers for the urban, and specially for the rural areas, in the interior of a district. The rural areas would require different types of teachers than those who will work in the urban areas. They should have a liking for the villages and they should be given elementary instruction in the principles of rural economics, sanitation, hygiene and social service, so as to make them really useful to the villagers amongst whom he will work and live. It would be better if arrangements could be made for securing the services of women teachers for the lower stages of Primary schools. If village women are available for the work, so much the better, if not, endeavours should be made to train them up for leading that life.

Some modification of the Wardha Scheme of Education, in so far as Curriculum is concerned, may be introduced making them adaptable to the needs of the locality in which the schools are situated. A place which is preponderatingly agricultural will be most benefited by a course of instruction which, besides giving the essentials of the foundations of knowledge and of the three R's, will endeavour to train up the students in the principles and the practices of the agricultural products of that locality. A district which is inhabited by industrial workers will be best benefited by a course of instruction in the arts and crafts of that locality. Just as agricultural products may differ from one district to another depending on the nature of the soil of that tract of land, so will the industries may differ from place to place. This justifies the necessity of having the curriculum adapted to the needs of the people in the different localities. The same motive power may not be suitable for driving the different kinds of machineries, so

the provision of education for the different types and grades of the public will have to be made in compartmental form, so that full benefits may be secured out of that.

The special features of the English system of education in the early stages of its growth at least, was its voluntary character, *i.e*,, the opening and the maintenance of the elementary schools in the country by individuals. With the introduction of universal and compulsory elementary education, the control of those schools gradually passed on to the local councils and through them to the Boards of education of England. We have perhaps, to wait for the time when universal elementary education Act will be introduced in our country for securing effective control over Mass Education.*

* Introduction to the author's Essay on *Mass Education in India.*

RACINE

MONSIEUR PAUL DUBOIS
Consul-General for France, Calcutta

[On the 21st April, two hundred and forty one years ago, in the twilight of the age of *Grand Monarque*, there passed away in Paris one of the most brilliant ornaments of his reign—RACINE, whom Lammenais called 'the Raphael of the Drama.'

We reproduce the substance of a Lecture on Racine given by Mons. Louis Dubois, Consul-General for France, under the auspices of the *Alliance Francise* of Calcutta at the Calcutta School of Music, on Wednesday, the 20th March, 1940.]

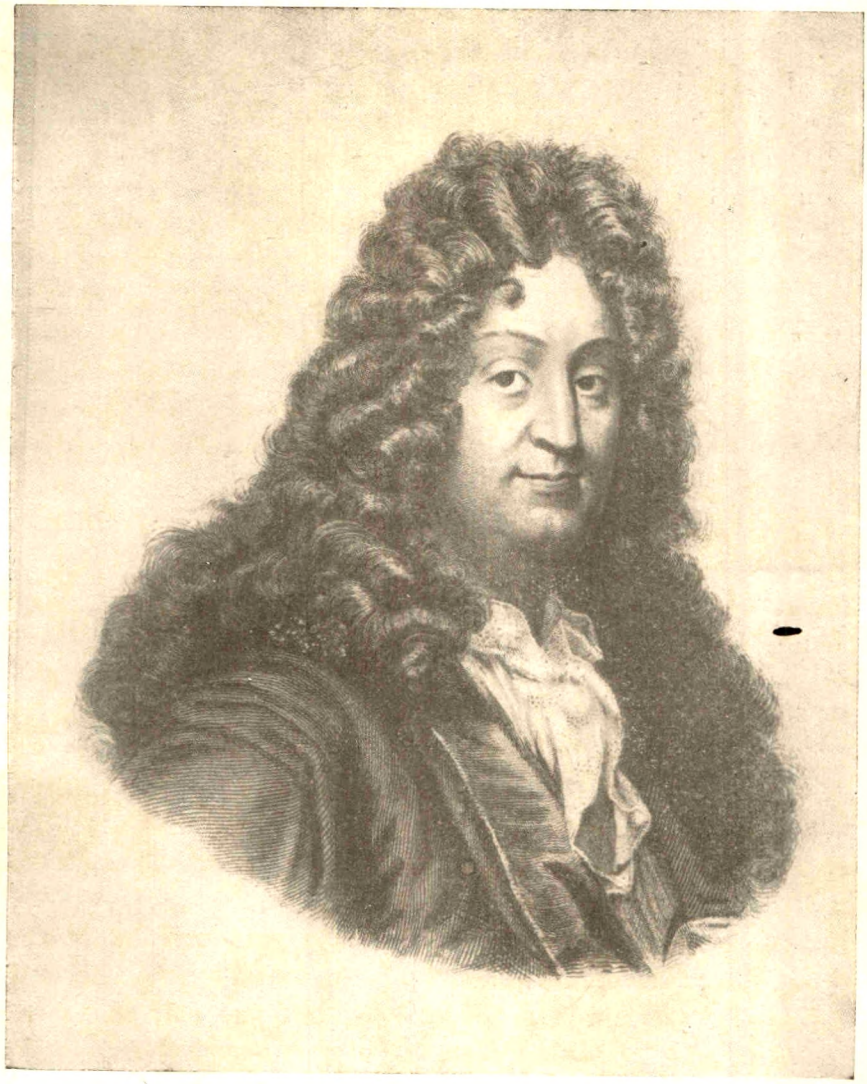
RACINE was born on the 22nd December, ,1639, at Ferté-Milon a small town sixty kilometres north-east of Paris, in what was then called the Province of Ile-de-France, cradle of the French Monarchy and nucleus of the present France. Jean—it was the only Christian name he received—Racine was the first child of Jean Racine and of Jeanne Sconin. His father was a controller of salt stores of a good middle-class family and one of his ancestors had even received a title of nobility during the XVIth century.

His mother Jeanne Sconin died on the 28th January, 1641 when he was only 13 months old, and his father, who married again, died on the 6th February, 1643. Racine thus found himself an orphan at the age of three. His parents left him no inheritance. He was taken in by his paternal grandfather, Jean Racine, and the wife of this grandfather, Marie Desmoulins.

Grandfather Racine having died in September, 1649, his widow went to live at the Port Royal des Champs, with her daughter Agnès, our author's aunt, who was a nun known as Agnès de Sainte Thècle. Racine treasured a fond memory of the excellent grandmother who brought him up.

Acting on the advice of the " Solitaires " of Port Royal, the latter placed her grandson at the college of the town of Beauvais, in 1649. He left the college in 1655, not yet being 16 years old, and was admitted to the " Ecole des Granges " of Port Royal, which was run by Nicole, an excellent Latinist, and Lancelot, an excellent Hellenist.

In March, 1656, that is to say, six months after Racine had entered the " Collège des Granges," masters and pupils were dispersed. Very much affected by this hard measure, he wrote a Latin ode, " Ad Christum " in which he chanted the misfortunes of the oppressed just



Racine

people. He learned by heart the Greek tragedies of Sophocles and of Euripides and also the Greek romance of the " Loves of Theagines and of Chariclea " by Heliodorus.

Racine left Port Royal in October, 1658, to study " logique," that is to say, philosophy, at the college of Harcourt in Paris.

In Paris, he lived with a relation, Nicolas Vitart, intendant to the Duke de Luynes, who had to watch over him, but who left him a lot of liberty.

He profited by this liberty in mixing in society and frequenting the intellectuals and the poets. It is at this time that he formed a friendship with Abbot le Vasseur, a worldly and gallant abbot, and with La Fontaine, the celebrated fabulist, 18 years older than he was, who was only then beginning his literary career. Racine wrote a great number of small poems at this time and it was said that he already had much wit.

In 1660, when he was only twenty years old, he wrote an ode, " La Nymphe de la Seine " on the occasion of the marriage of Louis XIV with the Infanta of Spain, Maria Thérèsa. This work brought him 100 louis as a gratification from the King.

But his old masters of Port Royal, and especially his aunt Agnès de Sainte Thècle, were alarmed to see him become more and more worldly and irreverent. They appealed to the poet's relations on his mother's side, and a maternal uncle, Antoine Sconin, summoned him, in 1661, to Uzès, where he was Vicar-General to the Bishop. Racine had been led to believe that he would receive a " benefice," that is to say, an ecclesiastical rank with an income. But the efforts made by uncle Sconin in this direction met with no result.

However, to please his uncle, Racine had begun, without enthusiasm, to study theology. But he spent most of his time reading the Greek Fathers of the Christian Church, Virgil in Latin, and in Greek, the Odyssey of Homer and the Olympics of Pindar.

He wrote a few poems while he was in Uzès, but above all he began to write his first tragedy " La, Thébaïde " or " Les Frères Ennemis." He returned to Paris without having had, it would seem, any amorous intrigues, and just as poor as when he left.

The life of Louis XIV having been in danger with the measles, he wrote an ode, " Sur la Convalescence du Roi," which brought him in a gratification of 600 francs. In gratitude for the generosity shown him, he produced another poem, " La Renommée aux Muses," which

pleased Count de St. Aignan, one of the favorite companions of the King.

The Count introduced him to Court and, as early as November, 1663, he was admitted to Louis XIV's levée, which, at the time, was a great honour. Thanks also to the " Renommée aux Muses," he got to know Boileau, the great satirical poet, with whom he contracted a long and durable friendship.

Racine finished " La Thébaïde " at the end of 1663. He produced it at Molière's theatre, having just met the celebrated playwright. It was played in 1664 with little success.

At this time Racine, Molière and La Fontaine used to meet two or three times a week at Boileau's house, Rue du Colombier, in the Faubourg St. Germain. The four friends would also meet at the celebrated taverns of the time, the " Mouton Blanc," the " Pomme de Pin," the " Croix de Lorraine." It was at the " Mouton Blanc " that Racine conceived the idea of the " Plaideurs."

At the end of 1665, he produced his second tragedy, " Alexandre le Grand," also at Molière's theatre. This play was the first great success of our poet, but also the reason for his break with Molière. Displeased at its interpretation by Molière's troupe, who, in all truth, were a company of comedians and not of tragedians, Racine withdrew his play and took it to the theatre of " L'Hôtel de Bourgogne." This break did not prevent Molière, in 1668, from applauding the " Plaideurs."

The first of Racine's classical masterpieces, " Andromaque " was played in 1667. Perrault, who was one of his enemies, and whose opinion, therefore, can be valued all the more, said of this first showing that the " Andromaque " caused as much stir as the " Cid." In 1668 Racine produced the " Plaideurs," the only comedy written by him. In Paris, where it was first shown, the play failed. But Louis XIV, who had appreciated " Andromaque," had it played at Court at Versailles. He laughed, the Court roared and France followed.

The second classical tragedy of Racine, " Britannicus " was played in 1669. It was at first a half failure. In 1670, Racine produced " Bérénice," the subject of which had been suggested by Henrietta of England, Duchess of Orléans. She had at the same time asked Corneille to write a play on the same subject. Corneille wrote " Tite et Bérénice," which is far from equalling his young rival's play.

In 1672, Racine showed " Bajazet " ; in 1673, " Mithridate " ; in 1674 " Iphigénie " ; In 1677, " Phèdre." Whereas " Iphigénie " was a great success, "Phèdre" was a resounding and inexplicable failure.

An intrigue had been started against the play " Phèdre ' by the Duchess de Bouillon, the Duke of Nevers and Mme Deshoulières. Not only had they incited Pradon to write another " Phèdre," which was given the same day, but they had bought for fifteen days every seat so that for a fortnight the theatre remained empty. After this defeat, and although his talent had then reached its pinnacie, Racine gave up writing for the theatre.

Contemporaries of our poet, especially Mme de Sévigné, have maintained that Racine had depicted love in his plays, for he was himself, in love.

Racine was received at the French Academy on the 12th of July, 1673.

Why did Racine, at thirty-seven, give up writing for the theatre ?

The immediate reason for this decision was the failure of " Phèdre." But Racine's resolution had deeper motives. First he was excessively sensitive to criticism and to the attacks made upon him. The principal reason for his retirement seems to have been remorse: formed in the austere school of Port Royal, it was not possible that his conscience would not trouble him and that he would not ask himself if he was not risking the salvation of his soul by writing for the theatre. The plaints and prayers of his aunt, Agnès de Sainte Thècle, must have contributed their share in his decision. At the time of the failure of " Phèdre," Boileau intervened to reconcile him with Port Royal. The sudden change went so far that Racine wanted to become a " Chartreux," *i.e.*, a monk. But his confessor advised him against this step and suggested marriage.

On the 1st June, 1677, he married Catherine de Romanet who was only twenty-five (he was 37). His wife had judgment and common sense, but little culture. Not only had she never read one of her husband's masterpieces, but she never even knew what a verse was.

Nevertheless their marriage was a happy one. They were united by a mutual love and by their affection for their children. From this marriage Racine had seven children, two sons and five daughters.

In 1677, Racine and Boileau were appointed historiographers of the King. To fulfill their duties, Racine and Boileau followed Louis XIV to the war in 1678 and they were present at the sieges of Gand

and of Ypres, at the end of the war of Holland. In 1683 they followed the King to Alsace. In 1687, Boileau being ill, Racine alone accompanied the King to Luxemburg. In 1691, 692 and 693, he again followed the French armies at the sieges of Mons and of Namur and was present during the campaign in the Netherlands, which was the last one in which the King appeared.

He would collect his information with great care, and if the courtiers sometimes scoffed at him, two great military men of the time, Vauban and the Marshal de Luxemburg, held him in great esteem and friendship. The King was well pleased with the work of his two historiographers, but unfortunately what they had written was destroyed in a fire.

Since his reconciliation with Port Royal, Racine engaged himself actively in favour of recluses and the nuns, going to the length of writing, in order to enlighten the Archbishop of Paris, a "Summary of the History of Port Royal."

He was very much in the good graces of Louis XIV and of his secret wife, Madame de Maintenon. It was at her request that Racine wrote his tragedy of "Esther," which was shown for the first time at the St. Cyr School—founded by the Madame de Maintenon for the education of impecunious girls of noble birth—on the 26th January, 1689, with great success. But having asked Racine to write a second play, which was "Athatlie," Madame de Maintenon did not have it acted at St. Cyr but merely read. She had found that her protégées had acted "Esther" with too much enthusiasm. Thus shown, under such adverse conditions, "Athalie" was a failure. It is curious, because posterity has proclaimed "Athalie" to be Racine's greatest masterpiece.

In 1690 he was appointed "Gentleman-in-ordinary to the King."

Yet a year before his death, Racine was in semi-disgrace; probably because Louis XIV did not like "Jansénistes" and did not approve of his devotion to Port Royal, which was the stronghold of "Jansénisme."

Racine died in Paris on the 21st April, 1699, saying to Boileau, who was at his bedside, "It is a blessing for me to die before you." The first time that Boileau appeared at Court again after Racine's death, Louis XIV called out to him as soon as he perceived him, "Despréaux (Boileau's complete name was Boileau Despréaux), we have lost a lot, you and I, by Racine's death." The King granted

a pension of 2,000 francs, which at the time was a great deal of money, to Racine's widow and children.

According to his wish, Racine was buried at Port Royal des Champs. But in 1711 the destruction of this cemetery having been ordered, Racine's remains were transferred to the cemetery of the church " St. Etienne du Mont " in Paris.

Racine's Genius

Jules Lemaître, who was one of the great masters of literary criticism of the XIXth century, has said, " Racine is the classic author *par excellence* if this expression of ' classic ' admits at the same time the idea of perfection combined with the idea of an intimate blending of French genius with the genius of ancient Greece and Rome."

A severe religious education, a strong classical culture, a profound study of Greek and Latin authors, had formed this classic author. All connoiseurs appreciate in him the measure and the purity of his style and recognize in him an exact and profound psychology.

He has, in particular, the singular gift which belongs to the true dramatic author, the gift of being each one of his characters at the time that he makes them speak and to be as one with his heroes.

As he had a great deal of intelligence, a sensitiveness that was so extreme that it was almost feminine, wit, irony, the gift of observation curiosity, a great desire for glory, it can be said that as much by intuition as by the experience of men—and of women—he had a profound knowledge of human passions. Belonging to the theatre world, but also moving in society and in Court circles, liking intercourse with women, living among people, who, though noble and polished on the surface, exhibited passions that were ardent and strong, and sometimes criminal, he was admirably placed to depict love and ambition.

Evidently, the opposite would have been surprising—his heroes, taken from the ancient Greek or Latin, speak and feel like Princes and Dukes of Louis XIV's Court.

But his works are the purest literary expression of the Great King's century, and they are also the purest sentimental expression of that time. He arrived at a moment when the French language, completely formed but only recently, seemed to have the charm, the grace and the strength of youth. Whether he wrote in verse or in prose,

Racine is the purest writer of the XVIIth century. His "Abrégé de l'Histoire de Port Royal," in prose, is a magnificent piece of work.

But it is especially to express all lovers and all love, that he found the most moving notes.

To awaken the interest of his audience, to sustain it and to make it progress, he doesn't have recourse to catastrophes, to exterior complications, to extraordinary events—the movements of the heart alone suffice him.

He is unique in tragedy, as Molière in comedy and as La Fontaine in fable.

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A DIGRESSION ON CHEMISTRY

RASH RANJAN BASU, M.A., B.L.

Like the Weird Sisters' welcome to that murderous thane I would exclaim not in an uncanny spirit but in true exuberence of joy, "All Hail Chemistry! All Hail Chemicals! All Hail Compounds!" How long thou didst remain unnoticed since the days of creation, or if thou art coeval with the Creator Himself, I know not. Would some painstaking scholar diving into the mines of ancient lore and with steps retrograde pass through the enlightened domain of modern civilisation to trace its origin, or if baffled, enter into the dim, dark and dreary region of the Middle Ages and ransack its defunct portfolios to find if possible where and how thou layst whether in Hrothgar's Hall or within Grendel's Den. Scholar, thy task is tremendous and stupendous. But if perchance thou succeedest, thou wouldst attain a fame which would reverberate through the infinite space, making all the notables living or dead alike envious of thee. Would not that be a sufficient recompense for all thy labours ? If this does not satisfy thee, I tell thee, nothing can satisfy thee. But perchance thou mayst not be a candidate for public fame. Then let thy burning zeal for work be a sufficient incentive to work. But my dear scholar, before thy quest begins, let me tell thee that my devotion to this branch of learning arises not from any mean personal gain or for turning dross into gold which the ancient alchemy is reputed to have achieved and records of which are still traceable in the archives of Assyria, Nineveh and Babylon.

No, Scholar, it is nothing like that. It is from a consideration totally incommensurate with what thou canst possibly conceive of. If thou art a scholar whose brain is not stuffed with other peoples' thought or whose mind does not move like an automaton in a chalked-out groove, swerving neither this way nor that, believe me, thou wilt appreciate me. I have already made too long a digression to ask thee to hold thy patience. But is not patience the corner-stone of all knowledge? So, for Heaven's sake, don't break away.

Life is not all acid—nor is it all alkali. It is an acidy alkaline mixture with an acrid taste. Who has ever sipped the cup of life without an unavoidable feeling of uneasiness ? Do what you may, physical infirmities invade your fleshy fortifications. Thanks to Chemistry, all your physical ills are dissected and laid bare! It is acid and alkali not harmonising with each other. We no longer ascribe our ills, as in the dark ages, to the evil eye of witchery and its sordid incantations.

When acidity attacks thee, who comes to thy rescue ? It is that frothy fuming bottle of Soda-water—an alkali, rather an angel in liquid form. When your head aches, the breath of smelling salt gives you an instantaneous relief. The trouble beats a hasty retreat. Ah that blue bottle, that sweet odorous Ammonia Salt, a never-failing friend of my young days when I crammed my tender brain with a thousand printed folios. An exhalation from its womb went straight through my nasal apertures to the seat of sovereign thought—a magic wrought within me—all perplexities of "Home-task," "class-exercise," and all that gibberish nonsense that served as a halter round my boyish freedom, vanished in the air.

Chemistry, thy tender mercies on poor mortals are more numerous than the countless tiny sparks that chase away the gloom from the ethereal vault. I would mention one more service that thou hast ever been

ungrudgingly rendering to man. Thy Sodium Chloride—could anything be sweeter than this? Sugar, thou art an embodiment of sweetness but canst thou stand comparison with this chemical compound? Ah no! What food can be prepared without thy help? Fish, meat, vegetables—choose any of them. Without thy aid none of them would be an appetising morsel even to a hard-worked, hungry mechanic—not to think of their ever being ushered in at the table of lords and ladies gay. Add a pinch of NaCl—what an angelic transformation! Its uncouth insipidity drops off like the cloak of some disguised habitant of the Parnassus. Snipes, ducks, pigeons—to name only a few of the feathery species—would curse their lot and cease to tempt the gunman's aim, if thou monarch of alkalies were not there. For the very same reason, lobsters, herrings, crabs, and the whole host of their aquatic brethren would no more invite the angler with his hook to spend his day quietly beside the pool far away from the noisy thoroughfares. Deer, hares, boars, and the rest of the quadrupeds that find their names high in the chart of delicious meat would lose the zest of their wild life, if no hunter's halloos send a thrill of excitement through their nerves. For who would pursue them if without salt their roasted meat be rendered unsavoury? If some impish elf were to take into his head to steal away this delicious Sodium Chloride—oh! let not such a calamity ever befall our sphere! For, were it ever to happen, the culinary art would at once collapse and we would be relegated to dark, degenerate Ethiopian Cannibalism. All our time-honoured traditions, institutions, ethics, morality would be cast to the four winds. The spirit of Prometheus. the great benefactor of man, would break open his cerements in broad-day light when he finds that his stealing of fire from the heaven of Zeus has been all in vain. Food without salt is worse than pork to a Jew. Nothing is therefore dearer to a man than this invaluable alkali. He should openly avow it, adore it in his heart and hug it to his bosom as the only cheer of this otherwise cheerless life. How could the claim of such a priceless treasure remain unnoticed by Seers and Savants of different ages and climes? How ludicrous that the philosophy of Teufeldrochks on rag-tags made such a huge commotion in the last century. Both he and his English exponent, the savant Carlyle, would feel uneasy in their graves to hear of this their sad—nay, criminal—omission. Was it not blind partiality on the part of our ancient saint to write, "A man should leave his father and mother and cling unto his wife." He was perhaps unaware of the immense beneficence, profound goodness—nay, absolute indispensability of this alkaline salt. Man has been known to live a well-spent life without a wife. But who has ever heard of any living soul—and this I ask with emphasis—married or bachelor, without a pinch of salt as a cheerer of his hearth and home? Wives may go to rack and ruin but salt-thou bounty of Chemistry, thou yieldest to none in thy goodness and thy worth—a boon companion—an anodyne to all that flesh is heir to. If there breathes any soul without thy cheering presence, I would in imitation of the oft-quoted language of the Scottish Wizard say, "Go mark him well. For him no individual raptures swell."

Ye wives, henceforth you should learn this supreme maxim that your only—rather sole—duty is to add a zest to your husbands' life of turmoil and conflict by a timely pinch of salt at his table. It is the only panacea, an Egyptian magi once told me, to make a chagrined husband look wistful and smiling.

Scholar, once again I implore thee to take up thy quest. A minute's delay might mean irreparable loss to thee. So, without much ado, go thy way while I live to hear from thee.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Benares University

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerjee, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, will deliver the Convocation Address of the Benares University on December 1.

Montessori Training

The second Indian Montessori training course in education, organised by the Association Montessori Internationale (Indian section), was declared open by Dr. G. S. Arundale, President, Theosophical Society at Adyar. Dr. Montessori explained at length the Montessori method of teaching.

Panjab University

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty has been invited by the Panjab University to deliver special extension lectures on new studies in literature. He is proceeding to visit different education centres in the Punjab and N.-W.F.P. under the auspices of the University.

Education in War-Time China

How is China carrying on her education under war conditions ?

A graphic answer to this question was given by Dr. T. Z. Koo of the Chinese Goodwill Mission, in the course of a broadcast from the Lucknow studio of All-India Radio.

Dr. Koo said that the Chinese Government had set apart seven new areas bordering on Burma and Tibet as centres for the rehabilitation of the destroyed universities and colleges. China has spent millions of dollars to set up again some thirty-five of the sixty destroyed universities and colleges and at the same time has moved 25,000 students, both men and women, with their professors from the eastern coast to the western provinces, where their refugee universities are located.

The colleges meet in huts constructed of mud and thatched with straw. Students are fed at a cost of Rs. 4 a month. But despite these physical hardships, he was struck by the resourceful way in which both students and professors were meeting the situation. It was this adaptibility of the Chinese nation which had made them such a tough nut to crack for their would-be conquerors.

Discipline among Students

Enforcement of discipline on the university students formed the subject of discussion between His Excellency the Governor and the Vice-Chancellors of the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities.

It was emphasised on behalf of Government that they did not want to encroach upon the autonomous rights of the universities, and while the Vice-Chancellors assured the Governor that discipline and law could be vigorously maintained amongst students by the college authorities themselves, failing which Government could always deal with them as ordinary citizens.

Dr. Basu of the Agra University was not able to attend, while the Aligarh and Benares Universities did not participate as they are governed by Central Statute.

Books of Oraon Folksongs

The Bihar Mass Literacy Committee has pubilshed a series of books and pamphlets in Nagari script containing the folksongs of Oraons and Mundas. These books and pamphlets have been distributed amongst the Mass Literacy centres in Chota Nagpur.

It may be noted that these folksongs have been collected by Mr. Archer, Census Officer, Bihar. The Mass Literacy Committee has selected only a few of them. Many more of them are awaiting publication.

Archaeological Finds

The Floods in the Burhabalang in eastern Mayurbhanj have helped to bring to light many notable archaeological finds.

Some bronze images of Jain Tirthankaras and Razandevis were exposed by the erosion of the right bank of the river near the village Khuntapal. The erosion has further revealed relics of old masonry brick works the, excavation of which is expected to yield other valuable relics of considerable archaeological importance dating back to the 10th and 11th century A.D.

Five miles down the course of the river from the above villages 17 silver coins of Sher Shah were found in an earthen pot lying half-exposed embedded in the north of the left bank of the river.

Miscellany

BANKS CONTROLLED BY LAW

Is control by financial groups tending to increase or decrease? On the whole, the evidence points towards some decline in active control, says R. A. Gordon in the *American Economic Review*. Bankers are less inclined to sit on boards than they were in the 1920's, and the events of the last five years or so have made them somewhat less anixous to meddle, at least, openly, in corporate affairs. Investment bankers have also suffered a weakening of their hold over the channels of supply of long-term funds. There has been a significant increase in the amount of securities privately placed without banking aid. This has restricted the power of investment bankers, but probably has strengthened the potential powers of such financial institutions as insurance companies. Commercial banking influence may have declined with the increased self-sufficiency of large firms with respect to working capital but this loss in a source of power is offset in part by the powers acquired through acting as the representative of large estates and trust accounts. And, of course, times of financial stringency will always provide means of acquiring power for lenders of short-term funds.

Federal legislation in recent years has tended to restrict both the powers financial groups can acquire and the amount of control they can or dare exercise. The Banking Act of 1933 brought about a formal separation of commercial and investment banking, the Securities Act of 1933 placed increased responsibilities on underwriters and, together with the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, circumscribed in various ways the activities of bankers and other financial groups. The public utility legislation of 1935 placed restrictions upon banks and bankers in their relations with public utility holding and operating companies, and the Chandler Act should weaken significantly the control powers of bankers during reorganization.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

JAPANESE ECONOMIC PROGRESS SINCE THE DEPRESSION OF 1931

Recovery in Japan was characterized by a great increase in industrial production and employment, and an equally striking increase in foreign trade. Measured by these indices, recovery was probably more rapid and more extensive than in any other country in the world. From the low point of the depression in 1931 to the outbreak of the China Incident in July, 1937, the volume of output more than doubled, factory employment rose by 60 per cent. and the yen value of imports and exports showed a gain of more than 200 per cent.

The explanation of recovery in Japan may be summed up as follows: (1) The Government by its fiscal policy and its spending encouraged new investment and the expansion of private industry; it deliberately refrained from taxation burdensome to business, while the expenditures of the army and navy served to prime the pump in the most approved manner; (2) at the same time, industry—by means of a programme of rationalization—so

cut its costs, including labour costs, that internal prices rose only moderately despite of depreciation of the yen to one-third its former gold par;* (3) expanding production and foreign trade made it possible for industry to finance itself from profits so that the banks had surplus funds which they were glad to employ in the purchase of government bonds—even at low interest rates.

This process went on with no threat of a breakdown until the outbreak of hostilities with China. It has even continued to function remarkably well in so far as this has been permitted under the increasing control of a war-time economy.

The new prime minister and the former finance minister were assassinated and replaced by others. Finance Minister Takahashi guided the nation's finances during his four years in office. The actual policies and measures adopted were the following : (1) depreciation of the yen; (2) increased government expenditures mainly through the army and navy; (3) no new or increased taxes, increased expenditure to be met by borrowing; (4) borrowing was to be kept in bounds and tapered off as soon as possible.

The gold embargo was reimposed in December, 1931, and the yen was allowed to depreciate until it reached a level 40 per cent. below the depreciated pound. It has been stabilized with respect to the pound since 1933.

The appropriations for the army and the navy and for special expenditure in Manchukuo grew until they accounted for half of the expenditure of the national government. Government purchases were a great stimulant to the mining, metals, chemical and machinery industries, which have had a phenomenal development since the depression. This would seem to be an example of successful pump-priming since the result has been not merely an increase in the production of armaments and munitions but a great increase in chemical fertilizers, industrial chemicals, metals and machinery for general industrial purposes. The index of industrial production shows that by July, 1937, the output of consumers goods had risen about 40 per cent. above the 1931-33 level, whereas that for producers goods was at least 100 per cent. above the 1931-33 level. There has been considerable new investment in the metals, chemical, and machinery industries.

At the same time that the export industries were stimulated by the depreciation of the yen and the heavy industries by government purchases, Takahashi as finance minister refrained from doing anything which would increase the tax burden on industry and commerce or cause any uncertainty or apprehension as to possible government action. There were no new taxes—with one unimportant exception until the spring of 1937.

At the same time industry was cutting costs by its rationalization programme. This had begun in the textile industries even before the period of deflation. We find evidence of lower labour costs increasing output and decreasing unemployment in many of the export industries. The great increase in employment came in the new industries developed since the depression. We also find evidence of lower wage costs in a reduction of wage rates.

In the textile industries where technological changes and reorganization have greatly increased the output per worker, employment rose slowly. Factory employment in general rose about 65 per cent. for men and about 50 per cent. for women from the low point to the outbreak of the China Incident. Since then, employment for men has risen tremendously.

What has happened to real wages? Wage rates fell by nearly 20 per cent. and have only recently begun to increase. Actual earnings, however,

fell by only 10 per cent. and are now above the 1926 level. The cost of living fell by 20 per cent. and is now slightly above the 1926 level. The discrepancy between the movements of wage rates and actual earnings is explained in two ways. Increased employment has increased the proportion of new and unskilled workers and tends to be reflected in a lower average wage rate. There has also been some decrease in wage rates for all workers, but longer working hours have made it possible for a worker to maintain or increase his actual earnings.

Japanese prices rose very slowly despite the depreciation of the yen. By the middle of 1937, retail prices and the cost of living had risen only 20 per cent. domestic wholesale prices about 40 per cent. export prices 65 per cent. and import prices 180 per cent. Both import and export prices rose rapidly at the end of 1936 and early in 1937, when raw material prices were soaring everywhere. Japanese export prices expressed in sterling were still at very low levels. In spite of high price of imported raw materials, Japanese manufacturers kept Japanese products cheap in terms of foreign currencies by reducing all other costs—especially labor costs.

The great increase in production and foreign trade which occurred under these conditions helped to create a situation in which the government's deficit bonds were easily absorbed. High profits made it possible for concerns to pay off bank loans and to increase capitalization without resort to the banks. The banks with ample funds at their disposal purchased government bonds. The increase in bank note circulation and in total clearings was what might legitimately be expected under conditions of rising prices and expanding business. A policy of easy money with declining interest rates was another feature of the national financial policy. In many respects this situation with respect to the banks was very like that which prevailed in the United States.

This, then, in brief describes the course of recovery of Japan. The severity of the depression together with political complications made the problem a most difficult one. The government by its fiscal policy and its spending encouraged new investment and the expansion of private business. Industry by its program of rationalization cut costs drastically. Labour maintained its earnings by working longer hours at somewhat lower rates. The banks reduced their advance to industry and increased their holdings of government bonds.

The method of financing the government spending was similar to that in the United States. The situation with respect to labor was more like that in Germany as was the nature of the government spending. The tax policy—the refusal to tax heavily for fear of discouraging recovery—was something peculiar to Japan. E. B. Schumpeter in the *American Economic Review Supplement.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING VISAVIS EMPLOYMENT

What is the use of discussing the effect of collective bargaining upon the volume of employment? Are unions politically capable of considering the effect of their policies upon employment? Since they are democratic organizations, are they not bound to be devices by which the majority advances its interests quite regardless of effect upon the minority, and,

above all, quite regardless of the effect upon the general economic situation?

I venture the opinion that considerable practical good may come of the exploration of the relationship of union policies to employment. In the first place, the fact that a given policy causes a minority to suffer does not necessarily mean that a majority is benefiting. The policy may reflect, not the exploitation of a minority by a majority, but simply the failure of the union leaders to formulate wise policies. Consider, for example, the efforts of some unions to protect their members against technological change by pursuing a policy of restriction rather than adjustment. When protection takes the form of permanent make-work rules, the ability of union employers to hold their own in competition with non-union employers is impaired and a minority of the union members are thrown out of work without corresponding gain to the majority. Indeed in the long run the majority itself is better protected by a policy of adjustment than by a policy of restriction. In the second place, whether the union is divided between a majority that is indifferent to the effects of union policies upon employment and a minority that bears the burden of unemployment depends upon how unemployment is distributed among the members. If it is concentrated by seniority rule among the junior members, the union may have little interest in employment problems. This goes far to explain the marketing policies of the railroad brotherhoods. On the other hand, if unemployment is spread thin among all members by limited equal-division-of-work, the union may be politically capable of interest in even a moderate degree of unemployment. In the third place, when the union members are keenly aware of their long-run as well as their short-run interests, the conflict between a majority not interested in unemployment and an exploited minority tends to disappear because in the long run the majority must consider the effect of union policies upon employment.

All in all, one finds about the same differences in the marketing policies of trade unions as one does among corporations. At one extreme one finds the men's clothing workers and the hosiery workers with their sensitiveness to changes in markets and their willingness to adjust the price of labor to changes in demand. At the other extreme one finds the building trades and the railroad brotherhoods with little disposition to adjust the price of labor to conditions in the market—in fact with a tendency to buck the market and to put up the price of labor quite irrespective of demand. No one would assert that the first two unions do a poorer job of representing their members than the second group. In fact, most persons would probably agree that they do a better job. The difference simply is that the marketing policies of the first are more realistic and that in consequence they do a better job of selling labor. As trade unions gain more experience in selling labor, I venture the prediction that the successful marketing policies of the men's clothing workers and the hosiery workers will receive wider acceptance. —S. H. Slichter at the American Economic Association, Fiftyfirst Annual Meeting.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

AMERICAN DEPRESSION (1937-38) ANALYZED

It is unnecessary, I think, to present a detailed statistical picture of the downturn of business which followed August, 1937, says C. O. Hardy

of the Brookings Institution, New York in the *American Economic Review*. It was the most rapid, though, of course, not the most extensive, shrinkage in business activity which has ever been recorded in the United States. Income payments as estimated by the Department of Commerce declined from 5,900 million dollars in September, 1937, to 4,900 million in May, 1938, about two-fifths of this decline being seasonal. The index adjusted for seasonal fluctuation dropped by 10 per cent. in eight months. In the same period the Federal Reserve Index of industrial production declined from 115 to 77; wholesale prices from 87·5 to 78·1; factory employment, adjusted for seasonal variation, dropped nearly 25 per cent; bank loans and investments declined by 1½ billion dolars, and demand deposits by about 1 billion. Other indexes showed correspondingly rapid declines.

In undertaking the difficult task of analyzing the causes of the reaction, we may best begin by eliminating certain explanations which either are suggested by observation of previous slumps or have been brought forward in connection with this one.

First, it is clear that this slump was not due to monetary stringency. Considering the enormous excess reserves of the banks, the low level of short-term interest rates, and the strong market for good bonds, this point need not be labored. To be sure, the reserve requirements of the banks had been increased twice in order to put the Federal reserve system in a better position to control a possible boom. But even immediately after these actions the margin of excess reserves was far greater than it ever was before 1932. Complaints of conservative lending policies on the part of the banks were heard, but certainly no more in 1937 than during the course of the preceding upswing of 1934-36. In this connection it is significant that the total amount of industrial loans applied for in 1936 was only at the twelve Federal Reserve Banks 36 million dollars.

Second, the slump was not due to overstraining of the capacity of industry, or a shortage of labor. Unemployment was still high, though in comparing the crude estimates which pass for statistics with the still cruder ones relating to previous depressions, allowance must be made for the fact that unemployment has been made more attractive than it ever was before. This has probably brought into the lists of the nominally unemployed thousands of persons who would not seek or would not be able to find steady employment, even in a period of high prosperity. There was still abundant railroad capacity, and there were no conspicuous bottlenecks in industry.

Third, there is no reason to believe that the slump was planned or deliberately promoted. The accusation that it was engineered to discredit the New Deal has no *a priori* plausibility, seeing that the slump did not occur during an election campaign, but in the first year of a presidential four-year term. This would certainly be an extraordinary time to engineer a slump in order to discredit the policies of the administration, if any one were so foolish as to use this method of influencing public opinion.

Moreover, the incentive, though doubtless it would be considered genuine, is insufficient. The basic objection of capitalists towards the New Deal rests on taxation policies and on the real or anticipated effects of New Deal policies on corporation profits. And this slump, like all previous ones, has cut into profits more than into any other form of income. It has not cut taxes nor is it likely to do so. To destroy profits without bringing any relief from taxation would be as fine an example of cutting off the nose to spite the face as could be imagined. Moreover, nothing, unless it was a war, could do more to bring about a further extension of

government control than a recurrence of depression. *A priori*, in fact, it would be more plausible to expect a left-wing political party to stimulate a slump in order to discredit private enterprise, crystalize emergence measures into permanent policies, and hasten the coming of a more highly centralized and socialized industrial order. But I have no suspicion that any body has been guilty of such tactics.

Fourth, I do not believe we can explain the slump adequately by any general lack of confidence in the future of investments in this country which may have resulted from the egalitarianism or authoritarianism or the financial irresponsibility of the present government or its propensity to harass business. To the extent that these characterizations of the administration are sound, they were just as true in 1936-37 as they are in 1937-38. Businessmen and capitalists were certainly stunned by the results of the election of 1936, but private enterprise has enormous capacity of adapting itself to the conditions it has to work under. The boomlet of 1936-37, and also the current revival, are evidence of the willingness of business to maintain and expand operations under the revised rules, even though they do not like them.

Fifth, I see no evidence that the slump was due to our having caught up with any so-called arrearage of durable goods. Housing construction was still far behind what it would have been if we had had steady production from 1929 to 1935 at the average rate of the twenties, and such a comparison does not make allowance for the fact that obsolescence has been unusually high during the last few years. Whereas for many years previously no real improvement in housing had been introduced, the past six years have been marked by rapid development of both the supply and the demand for such conveniences as insulation and air-conditioning, built-in refrigerators, multiple baths, and recreation rooms. The demand for new housing has also been strengthened by the growing preference for suburban locations, resulting from the improvement of transportation.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Delinquent Child.—By C. Manshardt. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 4-8-0.

The book deals with different aspects of the subject of juvenile delinquency in a very clear and simple style. The author is the Director of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay, and he has based himself mainly on his experience of the applications of the Bombay Children Act in Bombay City. The book, however, will prove useful not only within the limits of the province of Bombay but also throughout the whole of India. Juvenile delinquency is a very serious social problem, as delinquent children usually turn out later to be hardened adult criminals. This problem, however, has not received so far as much attention in India as it deserves for want of an enlightened public opinion on the subject. Dr. Manshardt's book will undoubtedly help the creation of such a public opinion in favour of better legislation and better treatment regarding juvenile delinquents.

The book is written, on the whole, from the psychological point of view. The author has very ably shown that delinquency is a case of social maladjustment and that we cannot hope to deal with it effectively without understanding the psychological causes that lead to it in a particular instance. He has further shown how the Juvenile Court can attain this understanding with the help of the Psychological Clinic and can take steps not only for the prevention of juvenile delinquency in society but also for the reformation of the delinquent. We wish wide circulation of the book.

H. MAITI

Dakshin-Bharat-Pathe.—By Jyotish Chandra Ghosh. Published by Sri Guru Library, Calcutta. Pp. iii + 307. Price Rs. 2.

Such names as Rameshwaram, Kumbhakonam, Madura and Srirangam cast a spell of charm and grandeur on us because of their association with the sacred literature of our past. Each year hundreds of religious-minded people from Bengal go on pilgrimage to these distant pleaces. The true spirit of the South, however, tries to shield itself behind the alien character of its temples, the fundamental difference of its languages and the food which tastes hostile to Bengali tongue and can hardly be penetrated into by them. But the South has a spirit of its own. When the North was being torn asunder by various currents and cross currents of cultural conflicts, the South had the luck of remaining less perturbed and thereby keeping alive various ancient customs related to social and cultural life.

Our author has been quite conscious of this fact, and from the very beginning of the tour he kept an open eye to see and an open heart to understand. His book can, hence, be taken as a valuable addition to the travel literature of Bengal.

He has been fortunate to see that the South is not only a land of huge temples and lofty Gopurams but it is also a source of gay colours,

luxurious vegetations, glittering sea and innumerable natural beauty spots, amidst which live a people full of joy nursing a living tradition of art.

He has described each place of interest in meticulous detail, giving whenever possible stories and anecdotes connected with such sites. He also knows how to make artless narratives of journey savoury by occasional personal touches. The value of the book has been further enhanced by the addition of innumerable plates and illustrations and a short chapter on different branches of South Indian art.

In short the author has acquitted himself creditably in his attempt to reveal the true spirit of the South and his book will not only be of immense help to an intending traveller but will also be read with deep interest by all.

KALYAN K. GANGULI

Ourselves

[*I. Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.—II. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Science, 1939.—III. Hindusthani Technical Terms.—IV. Honour for Sir Nilratan Sircar.—V. The Indian Academy of Fine Arts.—VI. The Late Sir E. Denison Ross.—VII. Indian Philosophical Congress.—VIII. The Inter-University Swimming Tournament.—IX. On the Award of Scholarships.—X. The Late Mr. Sailendranath Basu*].

I. Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940

Our University has been approached by Government for its views on the Secondary Education Bill, which was introduced in the Legistive Assembly on the 21st August, 1940. The Bill will be considered by a Committee consisting of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Dr. B. C. Roy, the Hon'ble Justice C. C. Biswas, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee and others. The University will communicate its views to the Government not later than the 15th December, 1940.

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II. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Science, 1939

The above Medal will be awarded to Dr. Bishnupada Mukhopadhyay, M.B., M.D. (Michigan), D.Sc. (Michigan), and Dr. Dineschandra Sen, D.Sc., the value of the Medal being equally divided between the two successful candidates. The Medal has been won with a thesis entitled " Search for some Ephedrine-like Antispasmodic Remedies " submitted by the former, and another entitled " Studies in the Camphor Series " submitted by the latter.

* * *

III. Hindusthani Technical Terms

Lists of Hindusthani technical terms of Geography, Algebra and Geometry as prepared by a sub-committee of the Hindusthani Committee of Bihar (Patna) appointed by the Government of Patna, in connexion with a Hindusthani Dictionary, etc., have been forwarded to our University for opinion and suggestions. The matter has been

referred to the Paribhasha Committee, which has been strengthened by the co-option of Messrs. L. Sukul, M.A., and R. A. Washat, M.A., for the purpose.

* * *

IV. Honour for Sir Nilratan Sircar

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that the Degree of Doctor of Science be conferred *Honoris Causa* on Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).

We offer our respectful congratulations to Sir Nilratan Sircar, an ex-Vice-Chancellor of this University and one of the most eminent physicians of the East, whose great scholarship in the medical field has been recognised all the world over. The University honours itself by honouring Sir Nilratan.

We hope Sir Nilratan will be spared for many years to come, inspiring his countrymen by the high example of his character, the greatness of his achievement and the noble simplicity of his life.

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V. The Indian Academy of Fine Arts

The Indian Academy of Fine Arts held its Fourth All-India Exhibition at Amritsar, towards the end of October, 1940, in aid of the War Fund. The proceeds will be devoted to the defence of India.

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VI. The Late Sir E. Denison Ross

The Syndicate placed on record their deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., a scholar of international repute in Semitic Languages. His association with this University had been long and in various capacities—he was an Ordinary Fellow of this University from 1904 to 1913 and was attached to the Faculty of Arts; he was President of the Board of Studies in Arabic, Persian and Urdu and of the Board of Studies in Hebrew; he was also a member of the Board of Studies in Greek, Latin, French and Armenian and a member of the Syndicate for some time.

* * *

VII. Indian Philosophical Congress

The Indian Philosophical Congress will meet at Madras on the 20th December, 1940, its session terminating on the 22nd December. Our University will shortly elect one or two representatives to attend the Congress.

* * *

VIII. The Inter-University Swimming Tournament

The Inter-University Swimming Tournament will be held from the 23rd to the 30th November and will be conducted on behalf of our University by a Committee consisting of Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M. A., Mr. Anathnath Chatterjee, M.B.B.S., Captain P. De, B.Sc., M.B., F.R.C.P.E., Mr. S. P. Biswas, M.A., and others.

* * *

IX. On the Award of Scholarships

Our University has refused to give its consent to the proposal, which has emanated from the Government of India and the Central Advisory Board of Education, of withholding emoluments or scholarships from those students whose parents are able to provide education without financial assistance from public funds.

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X. The Late Mr. Sailendranath Basu

The Syndicate placed on record, at their meeting of the 11th November, 1940, their deep sense of sorrow at the untimely death of Mr. Sailendranath Basu, B.A., lately Audit Officer of the University, who, after a brilliant record of useful services for a period of 31 years, recently retired from the University.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
DECEMBER, 1940

SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY, KT., AND BHABESHCHANDRA RAY, M.Sc.*

XIII

SHAKESPEARE AS A REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS—*Henry VI* TRILOGY AND *Titus Andronicus*

IN a previous article, the 7th contribution of the series,[1] only the preliminaries of the subject were dealt with. The subject is so vast and entails so much knowledge of Shakespearean literature that one would naturally shudder when one enters its portals. There has grown up such a mass of literature as a result of a detailed study of the plays concerned that it is almost impossible to unravel the tangled skein—far less possible it is to do full justice to the subject in a short article as had been attempted.

* I am now in my 80th year and thus infirmities of age are naturally crowding upon me. My eyesight is partially failing me and my memory is not as retentive as it was, say, twenty years ago. In drawing up the previous twelve communications, I had to depend upon the help of an amanuensis, Mr. Bhabeshchandra Ray, M.Sc., who has a literary taste. He has done his work as faithfully and conscientiously as may be expected. He has been fairly well up in literature on the subject at hand and I have thought it proper to associate him as a collaborator in the next series of articles. P. C. R.

[1] *Calcutta Review*, May, 1940.

At the very outset we have to say a few words on the principle of disintegration of Shakespeare, which undoubtedly comes so much before an ardent Shakespearean student.

The disintegrators of Shakespeare themselves believe and attempt to make others believe that there have been incorporated, to a varying degree, lines, and at times passages or even scenes written by others, in the Shakespearean canon. It is with a view to maintaining the sanctity of the Shakespearean canon that they have scrutinised carefully the available evidences both external and internal; and they have often depended more upon the latter than upon the former. Malone may be taken as the first serious questioner of the canonical character of the text as supplied by Heminge and Condell, though Ravenscroft is regarded by many as the originator, unknown to himself, of the disintegration theory.[1] Of late years Mr. J. M. Robertson has taken the lead in calling into question the authenticity of the Shakespearean canon claimed by Shakespeare's fellow-actors. Robertson has followed and developed the principles of Mr. Fleay who, though conscious of the presence of foreign hands in the Shakespearean canon as delivered in the Folio, was vacillating in assigning these alien lines to this or that poet. Sometimes he will fix up Peele with a particular passage and on a subsequent occasion he would modify his views and would declare Greene to be the author of the said lines and a third time he would give his award in favour of Lodge and so on. In consequence of this wavering attitude of his, Fleay has been subjected to very adverse criticism; and we must express our sincere regret that the general literature on the controversy set afoot by the advocates of the disintegration theory often partakes the nature of a polemic; and the supporters of the traditional canon also have lost, so to say, the balance of aesthetic criticism. To quote a representative example: Speaking of *Titus Andronicus* which, though incorporated in the First Folio, presented by the Lord Chamberlain's men on their board in 1594 and printed in the same year and mentioned by Meres in 1598, has aroused a lively controversy as regards its authorship. George Saintsbury remarks:

"If we are to disregard a three-fold cord of evidence like this, the whole process of literary history becomes a mere absurdity—*a game of All Fools*, with the prize for the craziest topsyturvyfier, as Thackeray

[1] Theobald (1733) and even Pope (1725) disbelieved the authenticity of some plays at least which found a place into the Folio.

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would say, of actual facts. It is, of course, possible—almost everything is possible—that the wrong play got into the Folio, that Meres was mistaken, that the piece acted and printed in 1594 was not Shakepeare's; but it is also possible that all the world is mad, except the *inhabitants* of lunatic asylum."[1]

Even such scholars as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Prof. J. Dover Wilson in their introduction to *The Taming of the Shrew* have thought it worth while to enter an apology for being disintegrators of Shakes peare and have discussed in a nutshell the different aspects of the problem of disintegration. In course of the said introduction they declare:

" Coming to this comedy in our observance of the 1623 Folio's order, and in face of one of the most difficult cruxes in the Shakespearean canon, we think it well to preface our approach to it with a brief but bold statement of the critical principles we have applied hitherto, and propose to apply to questions of the authenticity, date, and so on of this or that play.

Our method has been accused as ' disintegrating ' Shakespeare. We retort that no method at this time of day can, on condition of its being scholarly, do anything else, if we use the word intelligently. No one can pretend that Heminge and Condell's First Folio was a considered collection, revised by Shakespeare (after death) and bequeathed by him as his solemn claim on the worship of posterity. The First Folio has been proved—as might have been guessed from the twin names of its editors—to have been compiled from play house copies—piously, be it agreed, but not therefore with any exactness of research. It follows, then, that when we have an earlier Quarto of any given play printed in the dramatist's life time—and not so far as we know disavowed by him—it has *prima facie* a good claim to be considered."

Years of research on the text of Shakespeare have postulated one broad fact, that the text as supplied by Heminge and Condell can by no means be regarded as the most authentic and perfect, at least in several cases, when compared with the available Quartos. Where the Folio text has been found decidedly inferior to that of the Quarto, critics have come forward with the explanation that the Folio text merely represents the stage version and is necessarily unfit for closet

[1] Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. V.

study. On the contrary when a reader stumbles off on the Quarto version and finds the Folio text much superior to the former, the whole mischief is thrown upon the shoulders of the ever-accommodating *pirate publishers*, it being indirectly assumed that nothing below the standard can emerge out of Shakespeare's pen. Particularly with this broad and bold assumption at the base, the so-called disintegrators started their research.

The ways of disintegration have taken two well-defined shapes; and both have their strong votaries, though the earlier way of disintegration has begun to be considered rather old. Here the assumption is that Shakespeare, who has presented the world with the sublimest thoughts in the most beautiful language, can never leave for the posterity a sample of rubbish, so to say, where the colour, tone and ring are nothing finer than the average. The disintegrator starts from this assumption, critically studies the Shakespearean plays from cover to cover, collects words, lines, passages and scenes which their ideal Shakespeare should not write, assorts the collected material and attributes them to contemporary authors. These contemporaries or his immediate predecessors are thus regarded as Shakespeare's collaborators by this set of disintegrators. When the practice of composite authorship was so much in vogue in Elizabethan England why should we consider Shakespeare a singular exception in that respect, is the question which this disintegrating school may, very likely, put to their opposers. It is almost certain that in his days of retirement at Stratford after 1611, Shakespeare collaborated with Fletcher in producing *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

So far as *Henry VIII* is concerned the suspicion that the play is not entirely Shakespearean was first suggested, from a study of its style and metre, by Roderick (1758) and supported independently almost after a century by Emerson, Tennyson, Hickson and Spedding, all in 1850. In dividing the scenes between Shakespeare and Fletcher, Spedding remarked of the First Act, 1st scene and 3rd scene in the following typical words:

The former scene 'seemed to have the full stamp of Shakespeare in his latest manner: the same close packed expression; the same life, and reality and freshness; the same rapid and abrupt turnings of thought so quick that language can hardly run fast enough; the same impatient activity of intellect and fancy, which having once disclosed an idea cannot wait to work it orderly out; the same

daring confidence in the resources of language, which plunges headlong into a sentence without knowing how it is to come forth . . . . . the same entire freedom from book language and commonplace. . . . But the instant I entered upon the third scene . . . . . I was conscious of a total change. I felt as if I had passed suddenly out of the language of nature into the language of the stage, or of some conventional mode of conversation. . . . . The expression became suddenly diffuse and languid. The wit wanted mirth and character. Doubts were, however, expressed by Boyle (1885) as to our poet's share in the play and Massinger was suggested by him as the author of non-Fletcherian parts of the piece, and Fleay was ready enough to accept Boyle's views'. Most of the critics, however, agree *Henry VIII* to be a joint production of Shakespeare and Fletcher and the present writers would like to accept their conclusion.

Regarding *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the play was published in quarto in 1634 as,

Written by the memorable Worthies of their time ;

Mr. John Fletcher, and
Mr. William Shakespeare } Gent.

"The authenticity of Shakespeare parts has been defended by Lamb, Coleridge, DeQuincey, Tyrell, Spalding, Hallam, Hickson, Skeat, Furness, Littledale, Hopkinson and Swinburne. . . . . The case for the negative has been put boldly and trenchantly by Shelly in a letter to his wife : 'I have been reading the *Noble Kinsmen*, in which, with the exception of that lovely scene, to which you added so much grace in reading to me, I have been disappointed. The Jailor's Daughter is a poor imitation, and deformed. The whole story wants moral discrimination and modesty. I do not believe Shakespeare wrote a word of it.' The same disbelief has been expressed by Steevens, Hazlitt, Knight, Ulrici, Delius, Von Friesen, Halliwell Phillips, Boyle, Bierfreund, Furnivall and Fleay." [1]

It thus appears that the question whether Shakespeare has had any share in the authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is still open and awaits a happy solution. A present-day editor of the play, Mr. Harold Littledale, after successfully answering all the points raised

[1] Tucker Brooke, *Shakespeare Apocrypha* (1908), p. xlii.

by critics who would not like Shakespeare as the collaborator of Fletcher, observes, "A strong case of presumptive proof has been made out in favour of the opinion that Shakespeare commenced the play, wrote some scenes, outlined others, and left the imperfect draft for Fletcher to complete."

Now if one accepts the views of the majority of critics in so far as the authorship of *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* are concerned, one will have to be convinced of the actual method of collaboration, namely, how it was achieved. Did the two authors independently compose their respective portions to be cemented together after they had completed their allotted tasks, or simply one of them drew up the general plan, wrote some portions and left it to the other for completion ? It is quite unhesitatingly assumed by the supporters of the collaboration theory that Shakespeare himself drew up the scheme, actually composed several scenes for these two plays but did take no interest in them when he left the metropolis to enjoy his hard-earned days of retirement and rest at his native place, and left the drafts with Fletcher in order that he might finish it in his own characteristic way.

Thus it is evident that Shakespeare's collaboration is rather limited, and during the actual day-to-day progress of the plays where collaboration is more a certainty than probability, Shakespeare plays the part of a dummy author. Thus it is nothing short of "Shakespeare fanaticism" that induces a disintegrator to sift out passages which appears baser than Shakespeare's sublimer ones and allot them to the pens of imaginary collaborators in all the works running in Shakespeare's name. To make the point clear, we may ask a pertinent question, namely, why should we assume alien hands in say *Love's Labours' Lost*, *Julius Cæsar* and so on ? It is not for our subjectivity resulting in 'Shakespearolatry' that we try to purge out what we do not like our poet to write. The whole structure of this method of disintegrotion rests upon the gigantic assumption—gigantic we must call it—that Shakespeare, a super-eminent genius, cannot write anything which is not sublimest in itself.

The alternate way of disintegration starts from the same disbelief of the canonical character of the Folio text as given by the earliest editors, but follows an altogether different channel.

The inclusion of baser portions in the Shakespearean canon has been attempted to be explained on the supposition that the available

texts are merely the reprints of the stage copies which had to attract the imaginations of the groundlings, and Shakespeare could never be held responsible for those portions that sting in our ears and prick our minds. Shakespeare's popularity drew a number of pirate-publishers in the 'boxes' and on various occasions these publishers would take recourse to the process of 'bachygraphy' and would be helped by the ungrudging services of the play-patchers and play-dressers. To them may be attributed, in most cases, all these flat and stale stuff.[1]

In his article on "The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text" Pollard remarks :

"The Globe Theatre was burnt down in 1613, and there is no agreement at present as to what damage was then done to the collection of prompt copies or other theatrical manuscripts in the Companie's possession ; secondly, that in 1623 something like a dozen years had elapsed since the last of Shakespeare's Plays had been written, and some thirty since the production of the earliest, and such knowledge as we possess of how plays written by other dramatists were handled does not encourage us to believe that by any means all of the manuscripts available in 1623 were in the same state as when Shakespeare put his last touches to them." [2]

Quiller-Couch and Dover Wilson fittingly opine :

"To assume as Shakespeare's a play advertised as Shakespeare's in the First Folio by Heminge and Condell (who knew him) is surely the sensible thing to do in absence of strong evidence of his having been helped by guessed-at collaborators of varying degrees of fame. To suggest that his text stands, as we have it, upon playhouse and prompt-book copies is as surely a simpler and more economical solution of a hundred difficulties." [3]

The requisition of a collaborator, known or unknown, whenever the text does not satisfy our taste, is indeed risky—very risky—from an altogether different point of view. Greene's *Johanes Factotum* had to serve a period of apprenticeship in the art of play-writing and his very first appearance was not, so far as we can understand to-day, marked with any particular and unusual ovation. He had laboured hard and success favoured him with fortune which he was very

1 *Calcutta Review*, January, 1940, p. 3.
2 *Aspects of Shakespeare*, p. 9.
3 *The Taming of the Shrew*, Introduction, pp. ix-x.

particular of and with fame which he was not at all conscious of. "If we look closely enough into them (Shakespeare's plays) we shall findenough discrepancies, enough evidence of what seems imperfect revision, enough diversity of style, and to tempt us to believe that Shakespeare wrote all his plays in the years of his dramatic apprenticeship and spent the rest of his working life in constantly re-writing them."[1]

George Saintsbury also advocated this theory and the present writers do not hesitate to quote here Raleigh who too holds:

"There is good reason to think that many of his comedies are recasts of his own earlier versions now lost to us. It is wrong to suppose that these earlier versions were revised from motives of literary life. . . . . when the theatre came to its maturity, complete five act plays with two plots . . . were required to fill the afternoon. The earlier and slighter plays were then enlarged and adapted to the new demands."[2]

This view being accepted, one has simply to reason for oneself whether the lines of Shakespeare, the apprentice, and of Shakespeare, the mature, may not perplex a collaboration-monger and scraps of the apprentice playwright may not be allotted to a Marlowe, a Greene, a Peele, etc.

Here lies the real puzzle of Textual authenticity, and the disintegration theory is in itself an attempt to solve it. With these preliminary remarks it is now proposed to reopen the question of the authorship of *Henry VI Trilogy* and *Titus Andronicus*

(To be continued)

1 *Aspects of Shakespeare*, p. 15,
2 *Shakespeare* (English Men of Letters), p. 114.

AHIMSA AND THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY

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THERE is no denying the fact that religion as such is tending to have less and less influence on the daily life of man and in the dealings of nations with one another. I have come across many young men and young women who openly scoff at religion and really believe that the world will be a happier place to live in, if only religion could be abolished from it. Here there seems to be a certain confusion of thought. It is probable that the different organised religious faiths, as in operation in the world to-day, have failed to come up to our expectations and that in the eyes of impatient youth this fact alone is sufficient justification for condemning them.

Supposing for a moment that the enemies of religion did have the power to destroy religion and that they exercised it on a world-wide scale, what really would they achieve? Their activities would, under these circumstances, imply the destruction of church, temple and mosque, a total stoppage in the work of ministration carried on by the priests connected with these places of worship and the banning of all religious instruction. One might well ask whether the pursuit of this drastic policy can have the effect of destroying the soul of man and of making him forget his allegiance to a spiritual reality. It is only the lower animals and the sub-humans who lack spirituality and feel no need of religion. But man who has reached a higher stage in life when faced by death, physical decay and the calamities of nature which, on account of the unexpected way in which they occur, cannot be countered by taking suitable precautions, will always ask "Why should I die? Why should I grow old? Why should I have to undergo misery through no fault of mine?"

Buddhism tells us that the sight of a sick man, an old man, a dead man and a Sannyasi, raised similar questions in the mind of its founder and that he tried to find a solution for them and to free mankind from pain and suffering. Man alone is disturbed by problems

of this type and does not find any peace until he endeavours to solve them by trying to attain higher spiritual levels. Progress is a gradual movement from stage to stage. We can never hope to reach finality but the first stage in our progress requires us to fight evil and, at the same time, to safeguard the integrity of our spiritual life.

A Substitute for Fighting

That the ordeal by battle for composing differences in such spheres as the political, the economic, the social or even the domestic is a most unsatisfactory method has been proved by human experience extending over thousands of years. For instance, we are told that the present war is the result of the unjust peace thrust on a defeated Germany by the victorious allies. It follows, therefore, that the best way of meeting the difficulties in every walk of life is to approach the problems concerned in the spirit of friendship and amity. That sharp differences in even international matters can be settled without having recourse to war was proved by the way in which Great Britain and the United States of America settled their dispute over the Vinezulean question in 1895. Such was the relief experienced in both these countries over the peaceful settlement thus arrived at, that they mutually agreed to settle every question in future by arbitration.

Past experience has proved that some kind of compromise between contending parties is generally arrived at after they have tired themselves out. This, however, is no solution of the problem of creating the necessary atmosphere for the very obvious reason that the understanding is reached only after all the damage which the parties are capable of inflicting on each other has been perpetrated. So far the West has favoured pacifism as a means for condemning war. Great and noble as are the sentiments which are responsible for the pacifist movement, we must not overlook the fact that it amounts to an absolute refusal on the part of the pacifist to have anything to do with war. It is contended that in order to attain success, something more is required and that something is an ideal and a programme for which men and women will not feel any hesitation in even sacrificing their lives.

Admirers and followers of Mahatma Gandhi hold that by his technique of Ahimsa, very inadequately expressed by the word Non-

violence, he has provided the world with a satisfactory method of creating an atmosphere favourable to the solution of differences in a peaceful and, may I add, Christian way. This new method is based on the recognition of the fundamental fact that man is pre-eminently a moral being and that though he undoubtedly does possess the war instinct, it is in the fitness of things that his war instincts should find their expression not on the physical but on the moral plane where naturally the weapons he will use will be moral weapons.

The aim in this method to meet brute force by moral weapons is two-fold. One of these is to arouse, according to circumstances, the conscience of society or of the world against the aggressor in such a way as to make him realise very clearly that his physical success is actually turned into a moral defeat. The other aim is to expose the evil by the oppression in such a way as to compel the world to regard it as a wrong done to humanity, until the whole world through its sympathy sides with the oppressed. Once this object is achieved, the oppressor finds that his so-called victory resembles the dead sea fruit which turns to ashes in the mouth. Gandhiji also holds that when used properly, Ahimsa has the power to change the heart of the aggressor, to win him over and to establish goodwill among men thus nipping in the bud the multiplication of evil called forth by repressions on the one hand and reprisals on the other.

It is true that in the present state of civilisation, all our admiration goes to the warrior and none, or very little, to the silent courage and uncomplaining spirit of the martyr or saint who is ordinarily looked upon as a very poor-spirited fellow. Mahatma Gandhi's method aims at transferring our admiration from the wielder of physical force to the wielder of the moral. The man who follows this technique must forget his natural inclination for retaliation and train himself to feel respect for the very much nobler Christian method of refusal to retaliate. Two principles must guide such a man. He has to be truthful and non-violent in thought, word and deed. Along with this, he must refuse to offer any assistance to the oppressor until aggression in all its varied aspects is withdrawn. In the eloquent language of Tagore he must refuse to bow "before insolent might."

This would be moral action in its purest form in which the followers of Ahimsa will cheerfully suffer oppression in its extremest form for the sake of the truth and even to die if necessary.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that moral resistance of this type

is an impossiblity without a very high degree of discipline, courage and endurance. This is so because the ultimate appeal is to the conscience of the world at large. If, therefore, the slightest weakness or flaw is detected in the method followed and if the resistance offered is not from the purest of motives, the verdict of the world can never be expected to be favourable. Under these circumstances, it need hardly be stated that in recommending this method, Mahatma Gandhi relies for the success Ahimsa might achieve on the ultimate response of human nature to genuine goodness and self-sacrifice.

Ahimsa an Immutable Principle

The genuine adherent of the doctrine of Ahimsa holds that in it is to be found a striking example of the progressive though necessarily slow, march of humanity towards perfection—a perfection which can be earned only by the sacrifices and sufferings of idealists. It resembles such springs of human action as the unselfish love of parents for their children which counts no sacrifice too great for their benefit. Or again, Ahimsa in its application to the solution of such problems as social injustice, economic exploitation and political subjection may be likened to that spirit of co-operation where the advantage of society at large is secured at the expense of individual interests. The feature common to all such efforts to improve the lot of humanity is that the beneficial effects are secured by the sub-ordination of the interests of the individual to those of society at large. Such sub-ordination of interest may even go so far as the conscious choice of not only suffering but even of death with a view to promoting the benefit of others.

Looking through the history of ages, we find that this unselfish devotion to the cause of humanity has been responsible for whatever improvements have been made in the lot of mankind. It is this which has made organised society with all its obvious drawbacks easy of attainment. And it is equally true that the same method for effecting further improvements will have to be adopted in order to remove those defects and injustices which characterise modern life and modern civilisation. History also teaches the lesson that this innate urge of man to sacrifice his individual interests for the sake of others operates feebly and tentatively at the beginning but that it calls forth response from successive idealists so that with every age that passes the number of self-

sacrificing individuals increases and, with them, the beneficial effects they produce in hastening with an ever-quickening pace, the amelioration of man's lot.

AHIMSA AND PACIFISM

National India does not consider pacifism as identical with or as having the same moral appeal as Ahimsa unless the former is prepared to carry on the struggle whatever its nature as a constructive force against evil. It does not consider the resolve to merely abstain from taking part in a physical struggle as sufficient, lacking as it generally does an ideal, a programme for which men and women would cheerfully sacrifice their all including life itself in the firm belief that the adoption of such a course of action must inevitably bring to an end the wrong complained of. Besides, the sphere of pacifism is confined to the solution of the war problem only. As practised in the West in its best form, it has not yet received that wide application which Mahatma Gandhi has given to Ahimsa in the form of Satyagraha in India. The latter finds its field of work in all aspects and in all spheres of human life. Unlike western pacifism, it is neither negative nor passive.

This probably is the reason why Mahatma Gandhi has given up the use of the term "passive resistance" as a correct description for his own technique of attacking evils on the moral plane. He has repeatedly told us that while he holds first to the principle of Non-Violence, he has always qualified this statement by adding that he is no believer in that type of passivity which leads merely to feeble and cowardly inaction. Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews sums up Mahatma Gandhi's attitude in this matter in the following words:—"If it is merely out of cowardice, or laziness that you do not use physical force against wrong-doing, and not out of moral conviction, then you had better take up weapons and either kill or be killed for the sake of what you hold to be right and sacred; for a moral coward who merely seeks to save his own skin, and masquerades as a pacifist, is a hypocrite. There can be nothing worse than that! When brutal injustice is being done to fight is better than to be a coward. But if, on the other hand, you have the superior moral courage to resist evil—as Christ did and all the martyrs have done—by staking your own life against the evil, then do so, and God will be with you in the struggle."

The view held seems to be that only the strong are fit to tread the pathway of suffering which will appeal to the conscience of the world and thus lead to the removal of the particular evil against which the struggle is being carried on. Moral resistance arising out of weakness cannot, according to him, have the same effect on mankind at large as when it springs from strength.

We are told that when the enemies of Christ came to take him into their custody, that impetuous saint, Peter, who had not up to that time been able to realise the principles for which the Master stood, unsheathed the sword he carried and wounded one of the servants of Caiphas, the High Priest. It was then that addressing Peter and through him the whole world Christ said "Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" It was this strength which rendered the death on the cross so memorable an event in the history of mankind. Rather than enter into a compromise with the evil which surrounded him, the Lord and Master went to the cross and while there prayed for those who were guilty. "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

The lesson we learn from the "Prince of Satyagrahis", as Christ has been called by Mahatma Gandhi, is that the genuine follower of this golden rule does everything possible to change the heart of the evil-doer through love. Non-co-operation with him is resorted to only when all other means have failed and only so long as the conduct complained of is persisted in. He suffers cheerfully all the consequences contingent on his non-co-operation but this is done not as the result of either timidity or anger but with constant and unremitting love. The old relations are resumed as soon as the slightest sign of a change of heart is observed.

Ahimsa, Christian in Spirit

It has been said that Non-Violence has been successful in India mainly because the British are more considerate and humane than, for instance, the Nazis of Germany or the Fascists of Italy. It may be so, but we should remember that hate and enmity can be conquered only by love. Again is it not true that the only rational and successful way to deal with an enemy is to convert him to a friend? History

does not record a single case where an enemy has been converted to a friend by being treated as an enemy. We are told that when the English Superintendent of Police who went to arrest Dr. Ansari, one of the very finest of Muslim Congressmen, was conducting a search for incriminating evidence, the time for tea came and the Englishman was invited to tea. Though nothing was found, Dr. Ansari was arrested and he went to jail cheerfully his only crime being that he was a member of the proscribed Congress Committee, We also know how Srijut Rajendra Prasad, Congress Dictator of Behar, during those fateful days when the Civil Disobedience Movement was in full swing, called off the movement on Easter Day because he did not wish that the English Superintendent of Police should be prevented from attending church on that day. These events explain the success of the Congress, genuine members of which gladly courted jail, stood patiently under lathi charges and conquered their conquerors by their love and their Ahimsa.

I know of no other struggle in history for national freedom which has been conducted in so truly a Christian spirit. All honour to those non-Christians who have pointed out the Christian way in so effective a manner, to us Christians. It is not unlikely that the East will once again teach this new and much-needed lesson to the West.

The Future of Ahimsa

To-day the world is shocked by the shameless advocacy of power politics by the totalitarian states and by the tragic effects to which it is leading. While it is freely acknowledged that this is not only a great moral evil and a grave menace to civilisation, there are other factors present in modern life which are equally disquieting.

We find to-day that many western countries which call themselves democracies and which have been responsible for many valuable contributions to human thought and human progress in the world have managed to acquire vast areas in the earth. It cannot be held that in every case, these have been administered primarily for the benefit of the original inhabitants who, in many cases, have not only been dispossessed but sometimes even exterminated. It is needless to say that, not Great Britain only, but other western countries such as France, Holland, Belgium and Germany till the other day were among the nations referred to here. Those who are in possession refuse to

part with their spoils and are more than ready to use their man-and machine power, their wealth and their energy, to defend what they consider their property. No one seems able to grasp the very obvious fact that fundamentally their possessions outside their own countries belong to the original inhabitants and that the only justification for their presence in these areas is that they should use their opportunities for benefiting them. Of protestations regarding what these western nations have done to these countries for promoting their welfare, we have heard enough and, what is more, we do not attach much value to them for we know the undoubtedly large and important economical advantages enjoyed by the West through control of its non-European possessions.

While no one can pretend to be a prophet, still it is within the bounds of possibility to think that the desperate competition among western nations for material wealth derived from exploiting backward races and from political domination over weaker nations may lead to a series of wars which may end with the whole of our habitable world passing under the control of a number of dictatorships varying in the nature of the materialistic principles professed as well as in the amount of the cruelty practised towards those opposed to them. It is also possible that, if only to preserve their existence, such democracies as may still survive will be compelled to fight against the dictatorships which will be tempted to harass them partly in order to increase their possessions and partly because of the rivalry or, shall I say, the contradictory nature of their ideologies. One can also think of plots and revolutions within the dictatorships encouraged directly or indirectly by these democracies. Struggles of this type will be of a most devastating nature for the parties concerned in them will not feel the slightest hesitation in utilising to the fullest possible extent all the engines of destruction which human brains can invent. Along with it, with the help of propaganda, they will organise their man power in such a way that their citizens will have no will of their own and that, for all practical purposes, a majority will gradually lose all capacity for arriving at any independent opinion. From human entities endowed with reason and intelligence, man will come to be regarded merely as cannon fodder. The natural consequence of such a state of things will be an increase in poverty and probably also in oppression. In these wars, due to greed on the one hand and fear on the other, one of two things can happen to these democracies. If

they are successful in withstanding the attacks of the dictatorships, it will be only because of their ability to evolve a similar type of military and totalitarian organisation. And this, be it remembered, will be a possibility only if they have dictatorial governments of their own. On the other hand, if the democracies are destroyed as such, it will mean their absorption by the more efficient and less scrupulous dictatorships

But these dictatorships whether, overt or concealed, will carry inside them the seeds of decay. There will appear internal rivalries and jealousies which will find expression in plots and counterplots, feuds among rival factions which may even degenarate into civil war among contending parties. There might also be a war between the dictatorships which, in future days, will have divided up the world among themselves.

Added to this is the fact that if the principle lying behind the Marxian theory of each thesis automatically giving birth to its antithesis is correct, and let it be said that this does convey a truth, it follows that the successful adoption of force for the attainment of definite ends must sometime or other give rise to its antithesis that is to say create in the minds of those opposed to dictatorship the idea of combating them by the adoption of an opposite technique.

And how will these dissenters from the state policy meet the persecution which may come either directly from the dictators or from mobs which will not brook any departure from what may be called safe opinions standardised and imparted through scientifically conducted mass propaganda? Surely they will not stoop to the use of the weapons of their adversaries? My view is that the defence offered by this growing body of idealists will be some form of Ahimsa in a higher and purer and therefore more effective form. But it would be foolish to expect any tangible results early.

If the kind of situation envisaged above ever arises there will, in my view, gradually appear an ever-growing number of men and women who will refuse to be used as tools by despots.

This must happen for inspite of the diabolically clever technique for educating public opinion in favour of dictatorship, which might be successful among the younger generation for a time, the allegiance of man to what is godly within us cannot permanently be diverted to unworthy ends specially if Himsa is not met by counter Himsa. And so when dissensions and wars break out in the totalitarian states them-

selves, there might will be such large numbers of genuine devotees of Ahimsa who will cheerfully submit to any kind and amount of suffering rather than permit themselves to be used as instruments for perpetuating violence, injustice and greed, that dictatorships must fall to ruin by the weight of their own sins. It is only a question of time as to when people of this type will be so large in number as to become a force to be reckoned with by the dictatorship or dictatorships then in existence.

Is it not equally possible that the mysterious influence of love and goodwill such as is inherent in true Ahimsa exerted by the vast mass of Satyagrahis will slowly though none the less surely influence the dictators and their henchmen till they, of their own accord, give up their evil ways and assist in bringing nearer the day when there will be peace on earth and goodwill towards men?

The followers of Ahimsa who, in my opinion, will bring about a radical change of heart in mankind will all be inspired not so much by humanitarian feelings as by faith in a God of love, the Father of all, and their influence will be such that a majority of the states will come to recognise the value of Ahimsa and will adopt it as their ruling principle. There might be a small and comparatively insignificant number of men who will persist in clinging to the doctrine of force as a satisfactory means of settling differences but they will come to be regarded as semi-lunatics. In time, these will get disgusted with selfishness and bloodshed specially when they will be countered by unwearying patience, in the face of repeated provocations and, in their turn, they will undergo a change of heart.. It is then that the prophecy of the Lord and Master will be fulfilled " Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth."

It may no doubt be argued that what has been said above is an ideal which, under existing world conditions, appears impossible of fulfilment even in remote futurity. None the less it has to be admitted that in any attempt at a long vision of the future evolution of the world towards an ideal, we have to take into account not only the worst but also the best of which humanity at large is capable. Just as on the one hand it is possible that the present war which is spread over the whole world may have the effect of making it reel back to barbarism so, on the other hand, it is no less likely that, with the passage of time with set-backs here and there, the principle of Ahimsa will slowly but none the less surely gather increasing momentum and some

day, however distant, we shall have the reign of justice and peace. While it is true that human nature uninspired by these ideals is desperately wicked, it is equally true that it is moving forward though with slow and faltering steps towards the abolition of conflict between man and man and of war between nation and nation.

This I regard as not outside the bounds of possibility relying as I do on a principle formulated by ancient China which is referred to and elaborated in the chapter entitled "Politics and Wisdom" in Count Hermann Keyserlings book "Creative Understanding." Here the learned author points out how each movement, progressive or otherwise, is conditioned by events which happen about a quarter of a century before it becomes visible. The idea is that it is not the adults but the children of to-day who will rule the world twenty-five years hence. Therefore the character of the future will be really determined not by the ideals of the leaders of any particular generation but by the spirit which animates the children of that generation.

If the spirit of Ahimsa is imbibed and given effect to to-day and if this spirit is, through its natural human appeal, imbibed in a larger and still larger measure by each generation, there is not the slightest doubt that the pace of man's progress will quicken from more to more and must lead to but one result, the establishment of the Kingdom of God in this world.

The Mahatma's Gift to the World

Shelley has defined the man of genius as one who "beholds the future in the present." He has also observed that the ideals preached by such a man are "the germ of the flower and fruit of latest time." If this definition is accepted, we have to admit that the function of a genius is to gradually raise what has very happily been called "the prevailing level of thought and morals." If the man of genius is successful in this work, the community to which he has preached his message accepts it and, with its acceptance, advances from a lower to a higher level. This explains how the heterodoxies of one generation become the platitudes of the next.

From this point of view, Mahatma Gandhi is a moral genius of the highest order for he faced the risk of being regarded as a theorist or rather as a crank when he preached Ahimsa as the only satisfactory solution for our troubles. Events, however, have proved that he had

not erred in his estimate of the fundamental goodness of human nature. The fact that in spite of the very high spiritual demands it makes on humanity, he has been able to command the loyalty of so many and, on the whole, such faithful followers is sufficient proof that the lesson he has been teaching India and through her the world at large, is a latent truth inherent in the nature of humanity, that with an example before it this truth is not beyond its understanding and lastly that, given the right lead, it is possible of adoption by very large masses of men for the attainment of definitely worthy aims.

CHARACTERISATION IN BANKIM CHANDRA'S NOVELS

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IV

BANKIM Chandra has often been criticised as a mere romantic because in his novels we do not find that photographic representation of life which goes by the name of 'realism.' Literature is not, however, mere reproduction of life. It is the artist's interpretation of life-life seen through the prism of personality. The technique of the novel also prevents the novelist from becoming absolutely 'real.' The characters of a novel are based upon their creator's personal experience and as such are bound to be coloured by his personality. The novelist knows himself and he guesses about others, and out of these guesses and this knowledge he fashions his men and women. "He makes up a number of word-masses roughly describing himself, gives them names and sex, assigns them plausible gestures and causes them to speak by the use of inverted commas and perhaps to behave consistently" [1] and thus his characters gradually grow. His imagination, his emotions and his ideals condition the nature of his creations. Living in an age when, under the impact of the West on the East, men were imbibing the romantic glamour so all-pervasive in Western thought and Western literature, Bankim Chandra could not remain unaffected. The 'romance' we find in his novels merely differentiates them from other types; it does not make them less artistic or less real.

There is also another difference between the characters of a novel and real men and women. Real men and women are never fully revealed to us. We observe the behaviour of our fellow men, we interpret their words, their actions and their significant gestures. The greater part of their life is hidden from us; and much of their behaviour seems inexplicable. We reconcile ourselves to this 'inexplicable waywardness' of life because it is a fact and as such, cannot be ignored. The world of the novel has not, however, this 'inevitable factual reality' about it. It is the creation of the artist's imagination.

[1] Forster, Aspects of the Novel.

It must, therefore, be more probable and less mysterious. Else the illusion of reality is lost and the atmosphere of a "willing suspension of disbelief" dissipated. "In the novel everything is founded on human nature and the dominating feeling is of an existence where everything is intentional, even passions and crimes, even misery." Aberrations and abnormalities there might be but they must be attuned to the all pervasive atmosphere of reality enveloping the world of fiction. The novelist has to reveal the secrets of inner life for without such revelation "passions and crimes" and "even misery" fail to be "intentional." The characters of a novel are, consequently, distinct and definite. We know everything about them. Mutual secrecy is, however, one of the conditions of our life; our dearest friends have secrets we cannot know. Homo Fictus can never be Homo Sapiens. He lives in a world altogether different from ours. He is real because he is convincing. The characters of Bankim Chandra's novels have this 'reality.' By creating the proper atmosphere and environment, by establishing numerus points of contact between his world of fiction and our world of experience, by developing dramatic situations which reveal through significant action the inner secrets of the human personality, by utilising other methods no less artistic, Bankim invests his men and women with a distinctive life of their own—a life which by its ideal truth, makes them as much real as is necessary for purposes of art.

Modern criticism claims to have discovered two broad classes of characters—the 'flat' and the 'round'. Characters built upon a few simple traits, characters which are merely built up and not developed are all 'flat'. They have no depth; they can be sharply differentiated from more complex personalities.

It has been suggested that Bankim Chandra's characters are not 'three dimensional'. They have no depth and complexity; nor the flexibility and fluidity of life about them. Subordinate characters which play no very prominent part in the development of action have to be 'simple'. If they are made complex and interesting by themselves our attention is liable to be dessipated among them and the chief propagonists may, thereby, lose much of their distinctive prominence. Falstaff we must remember had to be killed off as he was becoming far too interesting. Though 'flat' such characters have this advantage that they are easily recognised. A Girijaya, a Digbijay, an Asmani,

a Vidyadiggaj—they are always welcomed with a smile of recognition. "It is convinient for the author when he can strike with his full force at once; and 'flat' characters are very useful to him since they never need reintroduction; never run away, have not to be watched for development and provide their own atmosphere." Even where, as in the case of Mrinalini, the main character is simple, she participates in the life surging round her and becomes real. Chanchal Kumari has no very great complexity nor does she grow; yet she is invested with an all-abounding vitality which invests her with a dynamic reality. Osman is drawn with a few strokes of the painter's brush. Three or four scenes illustrating the few simple traits of his character and we have the entire man before us. And the man is vividly alive. There is nothing shallow or mechanical about him. A few aspects of the human personality are thus invested with life, and paradoxically enough they are more easily remembered. "They remain in our mind as unalterable for the reason that they are not changed by circumstances; they move through circumstances which give to them a comforting quality and preserve them in our memory." It will, however, be wrong to say that all the characters created by Bankim Chandra lack depth or complexity or even development. Rohini and Govindalal, Sitaram, Zeb-un-nissa, Matibibi and many others—they all grow and develop. A change in situation introduces a corresponding change in their character. They react not only to their environment but also upon one another and upon their environment as well. Character expressing itself in and through action and action developing charactor, we have ample example of these in Bankim Chandra's novels.

"The test of round character is whether it is capable of surprising us in a convincing way. If it never surprises it is 'flat'. If it does not convince it is 'flat' pretending to be 'round'. It has the incalculability of life about it—life written on the pages of a book." So Forster asserts in his *Aspects of a Novel*. We may not go so far. Characters may have the flexibility of life even without surprising us convincingly. They may also grow and thus have a depth and complexity of their own. But the fact remains that many 'rounded' characters have this 'incalculability of life' about them. Such characters often exhibit sudden changes in their outlook and mental reaction. Their evolution is very often thwarted by their environment. They then turn round and develop in a direction wholly new to us. We are

naturally surprised yet we feel the changes to be somehow consistent with their nature. Such sudden changes reveal as with a flash of insight, aspects so long unapprehended by us. In Bankim Chandra there are many occasions when we feel such a thrill of surprise. Matibibi bestows her ornaments on Kapalkundala ; she finds pleasure even in the frustration of her hopes; she gives up her life of pleasure and comes back to Tumluk. There is something almost incalculable in her swift transformation. Her secret life is partially revealed to us and she becomes, at least for the time being, a 'rounded' character gaining both in depth and suggestiveness. Soon, however, Bankim proceeds to reveal her inner self ; the illusion of complexity is dissipated by his analyses and descriptions. She collapses to her original simplicity. Ayesha suddenly appears before Jagatsinha and offers to help him to escape. In the earlier scenes the novelist has not given us the slightest indication of what has been going on in her heart and so her offer surprises us. With a flash of insight the novelist reveals her inner self but the almost theatrical way in which she confesses her love takes away the thrill of surprise. Ayesha reverts to her original flatness. Tempted with an offer of marriage by Haralal, Rohini steals the will. When Haralal comes she refuses to part with the document except to his wedded wife. The entreaties of Haralal cannot move her and his taunts make her all the more resolute. In her proud reply and her bitter tears unsuspected aspects of her character are revealed to us. She gains in depth and becomes a rounded figure. Even after years of training Devi Chaudhurani flings herself on the mattress and breaks into sobs. The woman in her which has so long been suppressed suddenly reveals herself. She surprises us convincingly. Saibalini is carried away by Foster and, in spite of the entreaties of Sundari, refuses to come back. Her reasons are plausible yet unconvincing. We feel that there is something more than meets the eye. When she meets Pratap again she astounds Pratap and surprises us by revealing the reason why she left home. It was for Pratap ; else "who is Foster to me ?" she exclaims. In one dramatic scene she becomes a 'rounded' figure.

There are also characters which surprise us yet remain vague and shadowy. Daria suddenly emerges out of the crowded streets of Delhi and drags Mubarak to the astrologer. When the astrologer foretells Mubarak's marriage with a princess she interrupts him. There is a

prophetic ring about her comments and she surprises us. Her tormenting of Zeb-un-nissa is natural and explicable. Her sacrifice and courage, her attempts to save her husband, reveal unsuspected aspects of her personality. She grows complex ; but in spite of these instances when we are surprised convincingly she remains shadowy. She is a symbol rather than a person—the symbol of Mubarak's fate, appearing at the most critical moments of his life, warning him with her enigmatic utterances or saving him from danger and death. In the midst of Mubarak's happiness she intrudes—wild and insane ; and the world is again darkened for Mubarak. He sighs a sigh of despair and exclaims ' My God! I shall have to die ' and when fate finally overtakes him it is Daria who kills him.

At her very first appearance there is something mysterious about Manorama. Her child-like simplicity, her uncertain age, her dazzling beauty and her strange ways all invest her with a romantic glamour. When she meets Pasupati there is an ' incalculable ' change in her enigmatic personality. She is no longer a child but a woman strong in intellect and indomitable in spirit. Her conversation with Pasupati or with Hemchandra is characterised by mature judgment but, at the sight of their distress, she becomes a child again. Yet in the midst of these swift changes there is a consistency which makes her real and complex. She satisfies all the signs of a rounded figure. The total impression left on our mind by her personality does not, however, give us the picture of a real woman of flesh and blood. She seems to be a symbol of the enigmatic eternal feminine, the half-ideal, half-real Being created by the imagination, the yearnings and the desires of man. In both these characters the methods used by the novelist impressionistic rather than analytical. There is no evolution of are character. A hint here and a hint there and the characters gather shape like an impressionistic picture. It is thisimpressionistic method which creates theatmosphere of symbolism clinging to them.

The impression of a ' rounded character ' is the result of introducing into the world of literature the mutual secrecy so characteristic of our world of experience. The artist conceals the intermediate stages in the development of a mood ; he represents it as well-formed and fully developed. We do not expect it and are ' surprised convincingly.' Such a technique is well adopted to the drama. The drama is the most concentrated of all forms of literature. It cannot afford to linger over details ; it cannot depict all the stages in the development of a

particular situation. It can represent only the most significant and dramatic moments. It has to be 'dramatic' and cannot afford to be analytical or expository. In the more leisurely technique of the novel, however, too much of the dramatisation of character or incident is entirely out of place. In drama much is explained by the gesture and also the demeanour of the actors. The novel is deprived of such assistance. It has to describe while the drama visualises. The novelist has to analyse his characters if he wants to make them real. He has to reveal their secret inner life; else they do not carry conviction to his readers. They have to remain 'flat' (in Forster's sense of the term) but in scenes of dramatic suspense and dramatic intensity they grow into rounded figures. This method is most congenial to a novelist and we can discern it in an Ayesha, a Matibibi, a Saibalini, a Rohini or a Devi Chaudhurani.

Modern criticism also lays special emphasies upon the 'shifting of the view-point' as a technique of the novel. Sometimes the novelist analyses and describes his characters as an impartial disinterested observer. Sometimes he identifies himself with one of them and we look at the world through its eyes; or again, he may shift the view-point from one character to another and make the incidents, situations, and mental reactions "richer and more varied." "Sometimes the author might be talking in his own voice—using his own language and his own standards of appreciation, reproducing something that is in his own mind; then again, he might be using the mind and standard of one of the characters, catching the colour that a particular situation may wear in his view, the reader not watching the incident or situation but the surge of the person's emotions and passions." What is true of the plot of a novel is also true of its characterisation. Characters grow interesting when viewed from different angles. The different aspects of their personality are vividly realised and they become real and convincing.

In most of Bankim Chandra's novels the novelist himself describes and analyses his characters. His presence is always felt. It is he who tells us what happens; it is also he who reveals the inner life of his men and women. He seems to know everything not only the external activities of his men and women but the workings of their heart as well. Zeb-un-nissa meditates on her past experiences and her present condition. She remembers her treatment of Mubarak

and her mind is full of remorse. She welcomes death but fears to die. She calls to mind her proud rejection of religion and morality, her dissolute life and laments that luxury has debased her character and all this time, the novelist is at her elbow to note her restlessness, her gestures of despair and fear, her tears of grief and contrition. He is there to describe and analyse for us the conflict of her inner self.

At twilight when the shades of evening gradually envelop the entire landscape Kunda sits musing over her fate. Why was she spared? Could she not die? So she asks herself. She thinks of her dream and tries to shake off that disturbing memory. She tries to wean herself away from thoughts of Nagendra but all in vain. The childish reflections of the girl, the half-articulate desires of her heart, the inconsistent arguments which flow therefrom—the novelist knows them all. He seems to peep into the secrets of her inner self; he watches, analyses and records every change of her mind just to satisfy the curiosity of his readers.

The novelist has no preferences, no aristocratic aloofness. He is as much at home with Suryyamukhi as with Kunda and Hira, as much familiar withBhramar as with Rohini. When Hira reveals to herself her jealousyof Suryyamukhi, her infatuation for Devendra and her hatred of the world the novelist is there to record it. When Roihni struggles against her love for Govindalal and pathetically implores Providence to strengthen and save her, he is there to sympathise with her and enlist for her the sympathy of his readers. The dreams and desires of Tilottama, the struggles of Saibalini, the inner conflict of Kapalkundala we know them because the novelist is always present to watch, observe and analyse.

This constant watchfulness often puts a strain on our credulity and to evade this difficulty Bankim Chandra sometimes seeks to dramatise the inner conflict. In the case of Govindalal and Rohini he personifies the two contending desires and represents the conflict as a controversy between them. He cannot, however, put life into these symbolical characters and the scenes fail to rise to the height of dramatic intensity. His personality looms large behind them all. He remains the omniscient creater.

Such omniscience, if always emphasised upon, has an element of unreality about it. It makes too large a claim on our poetic faith. We are apt to rebel against it and question the reality of the

novelist's analyses and descriptions. Constant presentation of the same point of view is monotonous and tries the patience of the reader. Sometime, at least, the novelist must retire behind the scenes. He must introduce the characters and leave them to grow by themselves. This is specially the case when he builds up his characters through clash of personalities. When two or more characters meet together and reveal by mutual interaction the workings of their own heart, the novelist is very often an unwelcome third and has to work from behind the scenes.

Chanchal Kumari and Nirmal Kumari converse together. Anxious to know the mind of the Princess, Nirmal Kumari teases her till at last the truth comes out. Obviously Bankim is out of place in the Rajput palace. He cannot be an eaves-drapper listening stealthily to such intimate conversation. Discretly he steps aside and discretly he keeps aloof; but he cannot resist the temptation ofd peeping in now and then and enlivening the situation by his shrew comments. He is not prominent indeed, but his presence is felt.

Bankim describes the splendours of the Mogul palace; he introduces Zeb-un-nissa and Mubarak and then leaves them alone. It is not for him to observe the secrets of the Mogul Harem nor to listen to the conversation between lovers; and then through this conversation the lovers gradually reveal their inner selves. He has, however, to intervene from time to time and explain the contending passions of their heart. By swift change of the view-point from Mubarak and Zeb-un-nissa to the novelist the characters are both objectively represented and subjectively analaysed.

Ayesha visits Jagatsinha and the entire situation is dramatised. Through significant conversation the conflict of emotions in the heart of both the characters is revealed to us. Jagatsinha's gratitude, his disillusionment and despair, Ayesha's tenderness and sympathy are artistically brought out through mutualinteraction of personalities. Ayesha's offer to help Jagatsinha and his surprise at the offer make the scene tense with dramatic suspense. The sudden intrusion of Osman, his sarcastic question and the bold reply of Ayesa; the conflict of strong personalities they represent; the dramatic confession of Ayesha's love; the bewilderment and remores of Jagatsinha further complicate the situation. The standpoint is shifted from moment to moment and we know therefrom what is going on in the heart of the different characters. This continual shifting of view-point makes them rounded figures

of flesh and blood, and the entire situation gains artistic unity against the background of the novelist's standpoint as he occasionally intervenes to describe the change, both external and internal, in the personality of his men and women.

Sometimes again the novelist merely introduces his characters and takes no further part in the scene. Mubarak comes to bid farewell to Zeb-un-nissa. Through conversation and clash of personalities the womanly curiosity of Zeb-un-nissa their mutual love strong in the strength of youthful passion, the shrewdness of the Mogul princess and Mubarak's yearning for her companionship—they are all brought out without the least interference from the novelist. He is indeed there in the background but his presence is absolutely unobtrusive. Manoroma visits Pasupati at midnight. Her beauty and her sudden transformation from girlish innocence to mature womanhood—these Bankim cannot visualise except through analysis and description. But soon they are alone and the dramatic tension rises high through clash of personalities. The treachery of Pasupati, Manorama's expostulations, her contempt for traitors are vividly realised. The standpoint is continually shifted from Pashupati to Manorama. In spite of the occasional intervention of the novelist to describe sudden changes of character he is completely in the background and does not unnecessarily intrude.

It is very difficult for the novelist to keep himself entirely in the backrgoound and, at the same time reveal the inner conflict in the human heart; and he often seeks to evade this difficulty by the epistolary method of characterisation. Richardson by the use of such a method disappeared completely from the world of his novel and left it to his characters to reveal their inner selves. In letters the standpoint is shifted from the narrator to the character concerned. We see incidents, persons, the world itself through the eyes not of the novelist but of his men and women. Their personality coloures everything, and so when we read letters not only do we see the world and observe the incidents and changes of moods, we also find the writers of these letters growing unobtrusively more distinct and clear.

In many an instance in the novels of Bankim Chandra such epistolary self-revelation is direct. Nagendra's infatuation for Kunda, his determination to marry her inspite of the world, his attempts to defend his marriage by sophistical arguments, his anxiety to

quieten the doubts of his own mind, these are very clearly revealed in the letter that he writes to Srischandra, on the eve of his second marriage. Suryyamukhi expresses clearly and explicitly her mental struggle in the letter she addresses to Kamalmani before her flight. Her anxiety for the happiness of her husband, her self-sacrifice almost suicidal for the sake of that happiness, her jealous love which cannot tolerate a partner and her natural misunderstanding of her husband—we know them all from the simple pathetic phrases of her letter. Ayesha takes leave of Jagatsinha in a letter which vividly brings out, her incomparable self-restraint, her disinterested love, her complete surrender to Providence and last but not least fear for her weak, womanly, nature. In all these instances the characters are represented from the viewpoint of their own selves. It is in the light of their own personality that their secret life is revealed to us.

In some letters again characters are seen as reflected in the consciousness of their fellow-beings in the novel. Yet indirectly through their characteristic reaction are revealed the workings of the heart of the letter-writers themselves. Nagendra's letter introducing Kunda to his wife Suryyamukhi, describes the sweet character and innocent beauty of the girl but the enthusiastic terms in which he speaks of her indirectly bring out his admiration for her unsophisticated nature and budding charms. The letter that Suryyamukhi writes to Kamalmani similarly reveals her anxious mind, her jealous love and her fear of the future though it professes to speak of the strange transformation of her husband. Haradev Ghosal's letter to Nagendra not only analyses the nature of Nagendra's infatuation for Kunda but brings out Haradev's philosophical temperament.

Apart from revealing the personality of the writers themselves such letters serve other artistic purpcses as well. Characters are thus represented from different standpoints. The sane character seen through the eyes of the novelist, of his own self and of his contemporaries and fellowbeings in the novel, gains in complexity and becomes more real.[1]

The technique utilised in the epistolary form of characterisation in the novels of Bankim Chandra is more fully developed in Indira. The entire world of the novel is seen through the eyes of Indira. The different stages in the development of action, the characters of the

[1] *Cf.* Nagendranath in Bishabriksha.

many persons who take part in it ; nature in her grandeure and beauty, in her awful magnificance and in her quieter mood ; they are all reflected in her consciousness. The changes in her mind are very artfully suggested through her own descriptions. Her joyous mood when she starts for her husband's house colours her portrayal of the calm smiling landscape through which her palanquin passes ; the gloom of her despair makes the sombre picture of the nocturnal scene darker ; the simple joy of the village girl, the sympathetic personality of Subasini, the atmosphere of domestic happiness in the midst of which she lives in her new home—all seem to enter her inner self and leave their impress on it. The characters themselves—the old dowager, the sprightly Kshiroda, the affectionate Ramendra and the passionate Upendra are subtly transmuted as they pass through her consciousness. The whole novel is the expression of her personality. The novelist is nowhere to be seen.

In Indira the novelist could very successfully analyse and describe the mental reactions of the heroine ; but he could not represent her objectively. The other characters also seem to have little substantial reality apart from the consciousness of the heroine. We receive her impressions alone, her impressions of the world, of her own inner self and of her companions in life. It is her interpretations with which the novel familiarises us. We have no idea of the world outside her own consciousness. In Rajani, however, we do not see with the eyes of the heroine alone. The viewpoint is constantly shifted, crudely though it be from Rajani to Amarnath, from Amarnath to Lavangalata and from Lavangalata to Sachindranath. We observe the same character from different angles and it grows rounded and real. The first flush of love in Rajani ; her start of surprise at the touch of the beloved ; her desire to create his image in her own heart ; her hankering to be near him just to hear his musical voice, just to feel his very presence ; the full tragedy of her love unappreciated and unnoticed by the world—Rajani describes them all. The subtle changes in her inner self ; the gradual, almost imperceptible growth of her love ; her acceptance of Sachindra as her future husband ; her recoil from the proposal of marriage ; her audacious attempt to escape from it ; her despair when she tries to commit suicide ; we realise them through her own confessions. Her heart with its joys and fears, its cares and anxieties lies bare before us. And then the view-point changes. Her character grows more distinct and clear as it is reflected in the consciousness of Amarnath and Sachindra,

It is they who discover her innocent straightforward nature, her statuesque beauty, her calm and majestic presence It is through their eyes that we now look at Rajani. She grows more real and more life-like. Amarnath's admiration for Rajani invests with an added significance the offer of her property to Lavangalata; the struggle between her love for Sachindra on the one hand and her gratitude to Amarnath on the other is revealed to us through Lavangalata's narrative. Through different viewpoints bringing out different aspects of her personality, the blind flower-girl grows into a real woman of flesh and blood.

More subtle is the characterisation of Amarnath. His earlier life with its one act of indiscretion; his misery and remorse; the deep distress of an aimless life, his disinterested endeavour to help Rajani are all revealed through himself. But in the midst of his descriptions there are subtle suggestions regarding as yet unapprehended aspects of his personality. When he says that Love is the source of unhappiness and vaguely refers to the one desirable object which can never be his we seem to get a glimpse of his secret inner self where he had nourished love and smothered it out of sheer despair. His philosophic mind which can analyse the feelings of his own heart and develop a broader and deeper outlook with regard to his own problem—this philosophic mind of his is never clearly described, but clings as an exquisite aroma to his speculations and his confessions. It is only when his character is seen reflected in the consciousness of Sachindra that his keen intellect, broad culture and depth of learning are revealed to us. He describes his meeting with Lavangalata and all on a sudden, his admiration for her, which he had so carefully concealed from us expresses itself indirectly through his own consciousness in his enthusiastic description of her personality. His essential high-mindedness cannot, however, be fully appreciated unless seen through the eyes of others. And the viewpoint is shifted. Lavangalata appears on the scene and we begin to see Amarnath through her eyes and the eyes of Rajani. Rajani's simple words to her 'you do not know him. He will not accept the property even if I make a gift of it" throw a flood of light on his character-its absolute disinterestedness, its nobility and its grandeur. Lavangalata twits him with his former sin and when he tells her that he will himself relate everything to his future wife she returns full of admiration for the nobility of his character. But though these fundamental characteristics of his personality can be

discerned through their reflections in the consciousness of others, the conflict of emotions in his own heart cannot be revealed in the same way. He alone can enlighten us regarding the changes and transformations of his inner self. The viewpoint has to be shifted again ; and shifted it is from Lavangalata to his own self. He has created a new world of happiness centering round Rajani but true to his high ideals he takes the first opportunity to relate his one act of indiscretion to her. All on a sudden he learns of Rajani's love for Sachindra. The whole world seems to be toppling down round him. He does not try to win her back. It is against his nature to do so. He cannot mar the happiness of lovers. In these moments of despair he does what he alone can do. He sacrifices everything, even the prospects of his future happiness and delivers himself unconditionally into the hands of Providence. In this mood of chastened will he sorrowfully bids farewell to Lavangalata and with infinite delicacy leaves her to herself. Such delicate self-revelation, so restrained and yet so full of significance, we can scarcely find in the novels of Bankim Chandra.

It is through the consciousness of Rajani that Lavangalata gathers shape. Her joyous nature, her personality instinct with extraordinary vitality and humour, her self-less devotion to her aged husband, her sympathetic heart—they all leave a deep impression on the mind of the blind flower-girl and enthusiastically does she pay her homage to her patron. Lavangalata's past has, however, to be revealed. Otherwise she cannot grow real. This cannot be done by Rajani who knows nothing of it. And so the view-point changes. Amarnath relates his own story with which she is so very intimately associated. The love between the two is very delicately suggested in his lament. "Happiness lies in the absence of love; for love is misery—witness Lavangalata." Through Sachindra is revealed another aspect of her personality. When he refuses to marry Rajani she implores him to do so. In short simple words she tells him that all her happiness centres round his father and she cannot endure his misery. Thus does her character grow slowly out of hints suggested here and there in the self-revelations of other characters. She does not reveal herself but grows definite through her reflections in the consciousness of others. Even when the view-point is shifted and we look at the world through her eyes the different aspects of her personality are very seldom directly revealed. We may indeed know of her superstitious beliefs and determined character directly through her confession but her humour, her sym-

pathetic nature, cannot be felt in her actions alone. In short, simple words are described her surprise at Amarnath's disinterested love. Her simple confession that Rajani cannot know more of love than herself and that she is far happier, reveals her wounded heart which she has been carefully concealing from all. She quarrels with Amarnath but admits that it is not with pleasure that she does so. When Amarnath speaks of revealing his secret to Rajani she is proud of him and comes back in a complex mood of happiness and sorrow. The self-restraint in her does not allow frank confession and the truth is blurted out, time and again, when her heart is overfull or the tension is too much for her to bear. The novelist has very artistically described the farewell scene through the consciousness of Amarnath. It would have been unnatural for her to confess her lurking admiration and affection for Amarnath. She would not have been true to her nature if she did so. Amarnath alone can understand the significance of her hesitant speeches, her longing to express herself and her stronger self-restraint which stifles such expression. It is he alone who can appreciate the strength made perfect in weakness in her personality ; and so the entire scene is revealed through his eyes. Thus through different standpoints her character grows definite ; through her indirect self-revelations it gains in significance and through the consciousness of one whom she has rejected but can never forget does it reach the highest point of its development.

(To be continued)

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE BOARD AND THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1870-1926

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III

MEDICAL INSPECTION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

IN 1916 the number of medically inspected school children declined by 28 per cent. owing to the war.

In 1921-22, 2,500,000 children were subject to medical inspection. A thousand school clinics were in use, and 2,000 medical officers with 3,000 nurses were employed full-time or part-time.[1]

In 1922, 2,400,000 children underwent medical inspection.[2] During the year 1924, 2,420,305 children were medically examined, and 19·9 per cent. of the children examined were in need of medical treatment. The staff of the school medical service consisted of 1,844 medical officers, 511 dentists, and 4,368 nurses employed for full time or part time. Over 100 new school clinics were opened during the year.[3]

In 1926, 2,685,,167 children were brought under medical inspection ; 2,213,721 children received dental inspection. Of these 66·8 per cent. needed treatment, and 852,517 were treated. In 1926 there were 367 full-time dentists on the medical service staff.[4]

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

The war retarded the progress of schools to a certain extent. Teachers, school officers, and administrators left the work to join the army, and the older students left school in response to the call of the nation, and school buildings were occupied by staffs connected with

1 Report of Board of Education.
Ibid., 1926-27, pp. 66-67.
Ibid., 1916-17, p. 5.
Ibid., 1921-22, p. 73.

2 *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 145.
3 *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 167.
4 *Ibid.*, 1926-27, pp. 61-63.

military affairs. As a result of the withdrawal of older pupils from the elementary schools, the school population decreased, and efficiency in classroom instruction suffered as a result of the resignaton of the school teachers to join the colours.

"Throughout the system of public education there have been frequent and recurrent dislocations caused by the movement of troops, and the demand for building and other military requirements; and through the energy of local education authorities, governing bodies and managers of schools, and the willing co-operation of teachers and pupils, these have been to some extent remedied, and the make-shift arising from sudden disturbances have in most placees been replaced by more orderly arrangements. The system as a whole undoubtedly has suffered. But apart from this, the war has throughout the year imposed on educational resources a continual and increasing strain as regards both personal and material conditions, and has entailed many sacrifices.

In addition to this loss of teachers, of educational officials, and of students, the demand for economy and the restrictions on new buildings have operated together to impose a handicap on the progress of education which all the effort and energy of those who remain cannot entirely overcome." [5]

At the end of Angust, 1915, 1923 elementary schools in England and Wales were occupied for military purposes. Of these 611 were council schools, and 412 were voluntary schools.[6]

About 30,000 Belgian refugee children were admitted into the elementary schools by the local education authorities in England and Wales. These children were sometimes taught in separate schools under Belgian refugee teachers if the number of these children were large enough to form such schools. Most of these children were admitted into the schools of the Roman Catholic denominations. Sometimes the Belgian children were admitted into the regular elementary schools in England and Wales where they were sympathetically received by their English school fellows.[7] The war also affected the school attendance, up to the 31st of January, 1915. About 1,600 children in county areas and 770 in urban areas were excused from school attendance to supply the demands for labourers. Between

[5] Wyman and Sons. Report of the Board of Education, 1914-15, p. 3.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

September 1, 1914, and January 31, 1915, 1, 338 boys and 25 girls were excused in England and Wales ; and between February 1, 1915, and April 30, 1915, 3,705 boys and 106 girls were excused. Under Robson's Act 200 children were exempted. On January 31, 1916, 8,000 children were excused from school attendance.[8] On May 31, 1916, 15,753 children were excused. Of these 14,441 were boys. Of the children so excused 546 were between 11 and 12 years of age ; 8,018 between 12 and 13 years of age, and 5,521 between 13 and 14 years of age ; 1,668 were between the ages of 12 and 14.

On the 16th of October, 1916, the nnmber of children excused for agricultural employment, was 14,915. Of these 420 were under 12 years of age, and 7,839 children were between 12 and 13 years of age, while 6,656 were between 11 and 14 years of age.

On July 31, 1916, 51,422 children were examined for labour certificates. [9]

Thus we see the war affected the school attendance very much. The war also necessitated the curtailment of financial budgets. The staff of statistical department was reduced and altogether 1,023 (under 5 per cent. of the elementary schools in England and Wales were occupied for military purposes.

The war also revealed the importance of education in national welfare. Mr. Fisher describes in vivid language the great services of the elementary school during the wartime.

" And if anybody had doubted the value of our elementary schools that doubt must have been dispelled by the experience of the war. What are the plain facts of the situation ? An immense army has been suddenly formed out of volunteers, and has proved itself in a very short space of time the match at every point for the forces of the first military nation in Europe. It is an armylet, it be observed, mostly recruited from the elementary schools, and I venture to assert that this sudden and brilliant military improvisation could never have been achieved if we had been working upon the basis of a population entirely uneducated. This wonderful achievement implies trained powers of assimilation, the instructed conscience, the well-directed will and an instinct for good conduct, and when we consider that the enemy is divided from us by the obstacle of the sea, and that we have had

[8] Wyman and Sons. Report of the Board of Education, 1914-15, p. 20.
[9] *Ibid.*, 1915-16, pp. 7-8.
Ibid., 1914-15, p. 8.

every reasonable security for hearth and home, the great English crusade is found to imply qualities of imagination and ethical feeling as well." [10]

In 1911-12, 95 per cent. of the total juvenile population between the ages of 12 and 13 attended full-time day schools. About 30,000 children dropped out under the half-time system ; 185,000 dropped out at 13 ; 85,000 at between 13 and 14 and 266,000 at 14. Only 84,000 received full-time education after the age of 14 and only 5 per cent. received secondary education. Elementary school age ends at fifteen. Public education after the elementary school age is a part-time affair. In 1911-12, out of 2,700,000 juveniles between 14 and 18, about 2,200,000 or 81·5 per cent. were not enrolled either in day schools or in evening schools. Fifteen per cent. of the students registered in evening schools for 1911-12 did not complete 14-hour attendance out of an average total of 60 hours.[11]

The Committee after a brief survey of this prevailing unsatisfactory condition considered what steps should be taken to provide for the education and instruction of juveniles in general and in particular of those who were employed during the war and those who failed to secure suitable employment and those who needed special training for employment. It was a problem of adolescent wage-earner necessitated by the effect of war-time conditions. The Committee made the following recommendations:

The school-leaving age should be raised to 14 and the child be made to complete the school term during which he reaches his 14th birthday. Better staffing and other improvements in the upper grades of the elementary schools be made to secure the maximum benefit from the last years of school life.

The local educational authority will be under obligation to maintain suitable continuation classes for young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 who would be required to attend 8 hours a week for 40 weeks in the year subject to certain exceptions. A system of juvenile occupation bureau can be strengthened and extended.

The curriculum of the continuation classes should provide general, practical and technical instruction, and provision should also be made

10 Fisher, Education Estimates, 1917, p. 6.
11 Report of the Department of Commission on Juvenile Employment, p. 3.

for continuous physical training and for medical inspection and for clinical treatment where needed up to the age of 18.[12]

Re-organization of the National System of Education

In 1917 the Coalition Government decided to take up the task of re-organizing the national system of education. Mr. Fisher was made minister of education by Mr. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister of England.

Mr. Fisher attempted to undertake the task of educational re-organization along three lines. First he tried to improve the personnel of the teaching profession. This he attempted to achieve by insisting on a minimum scale of salaries, and making a provision for a generous pension scheme.

Secondly, he attempted to encourage local initiative by a liberal system of grants, and by an equitable readjustment of the burden to be borne by the local rates.

Thirdly, he attempted for the progressive development of the national system of education by enlarging the powers and duties of local educational authorities.

Mr. Fisher's Reform in Education

As a first step to secure these ends Mr. Fisher increased the education estimates for 1917 by £4,000,000. All except half a million was to be used as a supplementary grant for elementary education. Attention was also paid to educational inequalities prevailing among the different educational authorities. The government grant considerably decreased while the local rates increased correspondingly in 1905-06.

In 1905-06 the government bore 53·9 per cent. and the local communities 46·1 per cent. of the total cost of education. In 1915-16 the grants decreased to 46·5 per cent. and the rates increased to 53·5 per cent. In London the government grants were 31 per cent. of the total expenditure. Mr. Fisher described the educational inequalities existing in different areas in 1917 in the following words:

[12] Report of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in relation to Employment after the War, pp. 27-28.

"There are some districts, I might even say, there are some counties, which are years behind the more progressive parts of England, so that a child of poor parents who has the misfortune to be educated in these areas or counties has no real chance as compared with the child whose parents dwell in the area of a progressive authority. Though the neglect is often due to human factors, to landlords, farmers and others who do not believe in education, yet it is in the main possible to establish a very close co-relation between educational backwardness and a low assessable value. The primary condition of a sound scheme of elementary education finance, therefore, is to make adequate and ample provision for these financial disparities." [13]

Teachers' Salaries

Teachers occupy an important position in the education of a nation, but the teachers' salary in England and Wales prior to the educational reform movement was too low. The average salary for certificated head-teachers was £176, and for certificated assistant teachers was £129. For uncertificated assistant teachers it was £68. The salaries paid to women teachers were still lower. A female certificated teacher received £126 per annum, an assistant female teacher received £95, an uncertificated assistant teacher received £56, and a supplementary teacher received £40. There were before the war 42,000 certificated teachers both male and female receiving less than £100 and 26,700 drawing salaries of less than £90 per annum.[14] Mr. Fisher remarked that an ill-paid teacher is dangerous to society.

"I do not expect the teaching profession to offer great material regards, that is impossible, but I do regard it as essential to a good scheme of education that teachers should be relieved from perpetual financial anxiety, and that those teachers who marry should be able to look forward to rearing a family in respectable conditions. An anxious and depressed teacher is a bad teacher, an embittered teacher is a social danger."[15]

Two-thirds of the expenditure on elementary education was spent for teachers' salaries. With a view to removing inequalities in teachers',

[13] Fisher. Speech on Educational Estimates, 1917, pp. 10-11.
[14] *Ibid.*, 1917, pp. 8-9.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

salaries the government agreed to leave the control of them in the hands of local authorities but attempted to encourage the local authorities to pay better salaries by undertaking to pay three-fifths of the expenses spent for elementary school teachers' salaries.

Reform in Payment of Grants

To bring reform in grant system a Committee on local taxation was organized in 1914 under the auspices of Sir John Kempe.[16]

The Committee formulated the following principles:

1. The grant should be made elastic to meet increased educational expenditure.
2. Regard should be paid to the magnitude of the educational task to be performed, *i.e.*, on the basis of average school attendance.
3. On the basis of ability to perform its task, as judged by the proceeds of a 1*d* rate.

The Kempe Committee made recommendation to the effect that 40 per cent. of the government grant be made to cover the variable portion of the expenditure. Sixty per cent. of the teachers' salaries will be paid from government grant, and 20 per cent. government grant will be paid to balance net expenditure.

The government decided to pay grants according to the principle, "66·36 shillings per child in average attendance, plus three-fifths of the expenditure on teachers' salaries, plus one-fifth of the other net expenditure minus the product of a 7*d* rate." [17]

Area Grant

Specific grants:—Grants made with the idea of encouraging particular subjects and methods were abolished by the Education Act of 1918 and block grant was substituted in its place.

The number of scholars on the school registers gradually increased since 1912. In that year the number of school children over 12 years of age was 1,088,770. In 1913 the number increased to 1,116,385; in 1915, it increased to 1,136,167. Thus there arose the need of extending

[16] Birchenough, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

the elementary school education. It was to meet this pressing need Mr. Fisher, a member of the Liberal party and minister of education, introduced his famous education bill of 1917, during the ministry of Lloyd George under the Coalition Government. Mr. Fisher included in his bill the principal recommendations of the "Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War." The bill was also connected with the circumstances of the war and intended to remedy the defect existing in the school system as revealed by the war. It was a menace " promoted by deficiencies which had been revealed by the war " and was intended " to repair the intellectual and physical wastage which had been caused by the war." Its object was to " provide under the better organization of the existing machinery—amended—in some directions and extended in others—a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby." [18]

Mr. Fisher did not desire to change the educational machinery set up in the country under the provisions of the Act of 1902. The bill intended to provide under the better operation of the existing machinery, an enlarged and enriched opportunity of education for the children of the poor. This bill though it dealt with public education in many respects, did not intend to include the whole field of educational reform.

The bill aimed at specific purposes to be considered under six heads—

1. To improve the administrative organization of education.
2. To secure for every boy and girl in England an elementary school life up to the age of 14 which shall be unimpeded by the competing claims of industry.
3. To establish part-time day continuation schools which every young person in the country shall be compelled to attend unless he or she is undergoing some suitable form of alternative instruction.
4. To make a series of proposals for the development of the higher forms of elementary education and for the improvement of the physical condition of the children and young persons under instruction.
5. To consolidate the elementary school grants.
6. To make an effective survey of the whole educational provision

[18] Parliamentary debate, Vol. 97, Aug. 21, 1917, pp. 795-97.

in the country and to bring private educational instructions in close r and more convenient relations to the national system.[19]

The Fisher bill provides for the following items to be included in the elementary school system :—

1. Nursery schools.
2. Central schools for advanced elementary instruction.
3. Classes for practical instruction.
4. Holiday and school camps.
5. Play-grounds.
6. Arrangements for social and physical training.
7. Provision for children of exceptional cases.
8. Medical inspection and treatment for the children attending places of higher education. [20]

School attendance

All chilfiren must attend school till their fourteenth birthday and the school term during which the children reach their birthdays must be completed. In exceptional cases the school age may be raised to 16 by local by-laws.

All persons below 18 except those who are under full-time education, or who have been educated full-time to 16, must attend continuation schools in the day time for 320 hours in the year.

Employment

No children under 12 may be employed at all. No child above 12 may be employed on school days except after school hours and before 8 p.m. No child may be employed on days other than school days except between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. No person may be employed during the time he is required to attend continuation schools and where necessary, an additional two hours' freedom from employment may be secured on the day when the continuation school is held. Local educational authorities are charged with the administration of the law relating to the employment of school children, are empowered to prevent the employment of school children in a manner injurious

19 Parliamentary debate, Vol. 97, 1917, pp. 799-801.
20 Fisher's speech on Educational Estimates, 1917, p. 100.

to their health or education, and are enabled to enforce the law with regard to cruelty to children.

Fees

Education in continuation schools will be free, and such fees as are still charged in public elementary schools are abolished.

Local Educational Authorities

Local educational authorities are required to frame and carry out comprehensive and adequate schemes for the performance of their duties and exercise of their powers. Continuation and co-operation between authorities are encouraged and facilitated. The powers of the authorities are greatly extended. The restriction imposed on the authorities to spend freely on higher education is abolished. Education authorities are enabled to encourage research. The system of educational grants is revised and the principle of a minimum grant of half the authority's expenditure is introduced.

Provision is made for a census of educational institutes.

The procedure of public inquiries is regulated. The law of educational charities is simplified.[21]

The bill was supported by the educators, but was criticised as bureaucratic by the public at large. Colonel Wedgwood criticised the bill for the extension of the school. Mr. Fisher, however, moved an amendment to the bill in the following words:

"I beg to move in subsection (1) at the end of the first paragraph to insert the words 'provided that the obligation to attend continuation schools shall not within a period of 7 years from the appointed day on which the provisions of this section came into force, apply to young persons between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, not after such period to any young person who has attained the age of sixteen before the expiration of that period, (2) and during the like period if the local education authority so resolved, the number of hours for which a young person may be required to attend continuation schools in any year shall be 280 instead of 300 hours."[22]

The bill was passed and became the law of the country.

[21] Hon. H.A.L. Fisher. Educational Reform Speeches, pp. 100-101.
[22] Parliamentary Debate, p. 1704.

The act is important in that it raises the compulsory school attendance and no child can now drop out of school upon reaching ohis 14th birthday without completing the school term during which he reaches his fourteenth birthday. It improved greatly the classrom instruction and the organization of the class.

During the period under discussion, attempts were also made to abolish the dual school system. The school system extended rapidly; the development of central schools, the organization of nursery schools, continuation schools, increased teachers' salaries, and raised educational expenditure so high that it was thought advisable to unify the dual school system. In 1920 Mr. Fisher laid down four principles in prder to achieve this end. These are as follows:

1. The appointment, promotion, and discharge of all teachers in public elementary schools should be controlled by local educational authorities.

2. Local educational authorities should be empowered and authorized to make full use of school buildings and those of the existing voluntary schools for any educational purposes. The duty of keeping the school buildings in good condition and the necessary extension thereof should be entrusted to the local educational authorities.

3. Provision should be made for religious instruction in all public and secondary schools by the local educational authorities.

4. Non-provided schools should be allowed to keep away from the new arrangement. These proposals were embodied in Mr. Thomas Davies' Bill of 1922. These proposals to unify the dual school system failed.[23]

During the second decade of the 20th century, there was a tendency to arrive at agreements between the representatives of the church and non-conformist bodies. Religious dissensions which characterized the elementary school movement during the close of the 19th century, and lingered up to the first decade of the 20th century, gradually tended to fade away in the second decade of the 20th century. It was felt by all parties that the dual school system tended to retard the national school system, and various attempts were made by the representatives of the church and the non-conformists to arrive at a compromise.

A concordat was signed between the representatives of the church and the non-conformists in Wales, and another concordat was signed

[23] Birchenough, C. *op. cit.* pp. 241-242.

in Cambridge shire. These concordats dealt with the unification of the church and council schools, and the terms of such unification.

"The proposals with regard to unity of control, the appointment, dismissal, and training of teachers, the use of the school buildings, the establishment of religious instruction committees and the provision of religious instruction as an integral part of the work of all schools, followed closely on the lines of the amended bill. It was laid down that the syllabus of religious instruction should consist of "instruction in the Bible including the principles of the Christian faith." Liberty to contract out was to be permitted except in single school areas. In non-provided schools an additional lesson a week might be devoted to doctrinal teaching if 20 percent. of the parents. asked for it.

In 1924 the church assembly expressed general approval of the plan of abandoing the dual system and handing over voluntary schools to the local educational authority, subject to satisfactory arrangements being made for the provision of religious instruction as an integral part of the curriculum of all schools. The Archibishop of Canterbury laid down the principle that religious teaching must always mean for Christian children the definite teaching of the elements of Christian faith."[24]

These are the two attitudes visible in the Coalition Government as the government was composed of these two different parties.

Increased costs, gradual expansion of elementary education, high cost of building and equipment, reorganization of elementary education on the model of the Act of 1918 would tend to restrict voluntary schools to the education of the children below the age of 11. [25]

But all these attempts did not bring about any final result. The dual system of schools still exists in England and Wales.

Mr. Fisher's Act of 1918 reflects the Liberal attitude towards the expansion of the elementary schools system and the failure to arrive at a compromise as regards the unification of voluntary and the council schools. It reflects also the Conservative attitude of maintaining the voluntary schools for the duty of carrying on educational activities side by side with the council schools.

The Organization of the Elementary Schools

In 1921-22 the number of elementary school pupils between the ages of 11 and 12 for England and Wales was 649, 871 on the registers.

[24] Birchenough. *op. cit.*, p. 243-244. [25] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

In 1922-23 the number of pupils of from 11 to 12 years of age decreased to 639, 131 and in 1923-24 the number still further declined to 636, 515.

In 1921-22 the number of elementary school pupils between the ages of 12-13 was in England and Wales 632, 868; in 1922-23 the number was reduced ty 620, 628, and in 1923-24 the number still further slumped to 607, 217.

In 1921-22 the number of elementary school pupils between the ages of 13-14 was 509, 353 ; in 1922-23 the number rose to 542, 282 and in 1923-24 the number rose still higher to 584, 212. Thus we see the figures between the ages of 13-14 rose higher successively, whereas the figures for the ages 11-12 and 12-13 declined comparatively little lower for three years, involves a junior school of an enormous size.

This difficulty can be solved by the segregation of the children during the six-year period into,—

1. Two separate and successive departments for infants and juniors.

2. Two distinct and parallel junior departments for boys and girls.

3. Two separate and parallel junior mixed departments.

ORGANIZATION

1. The Board recommends the school classification and organization in future in such a way as to provide suitable advanced instruction to children beyond the age of 11.

2. The age 11 is very important as the most suitable dividing line between " Junior " and " Senior" education.

3. In large schools the distinction be maintained of six years of age for the junior and three years of age for the senior pupil.

The first (*a*) plan is defective in that it involves double break in the school life which is likely to produce retardation.

The second plan (*b*) segregates very little boys and girls into separate departments and such organization can be accepted by the board only in exceptional circumstances.

The third (*c*) plan according to the judgment of the Board is the most sound organization from the standpoint of education though it carries with it administrative complexities.

4. In order to avoid these administrative difficulties the Board recognized the dividing line to be earlier than 11. Because by placing the dividing line between junior and senior departments at an earlier age a more even distinction of numbers will be gained and the overcrowded junior department will be avoided.

The Board prefers the age of 9 to that of 10 because it has the advantage of two years' course in the senior department for those children who may be transferred at the age of 11 to a secondary or a central school.

The Board strongly recommends separate departments for senior boys and senior girls where such organization is practicable.[26]

With a view to providing suitable post-elementary instruction to these adolescent youths beyond the age of 11, the Board of education devised various means of elementary school reorganization. The Board of Education in its Circular No. 1350, in connection with the planning of new schools, made the following recommendations:

"In future the Board will find it difficult to approve any scheme of school-planning which fails to make provision for the advanced instruction of children over the age of 11, by giving opportunities for suitable classification and organization."

Where schools are organized on the traditional basis of "boys, girls, infants," or mixed and infants, and the departments are large, this object can doubtless be attained with the existing organization by a careful classification of the children in attendance. Except, however, where the departments of such schools are large, some concentration both of the older and of the younger children of the district will probably be feasable.

[26] Report of the Board of Education for the year 1924-25, pp. 85-86.

THE NORTH-WESTERN QUESTION OF INDIAN HISTORY (1798-1830)

II

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J

WITH the successful dispatch of the Minto mission of 1808, and even before the conclusion of the treaties with Persia, Afghanistan, the Punjab, and Sind, the Napoleonic danger had come to an end. In1808-09, Napoleon had become deeply embroiled in the Peninsular War, which proved, in effect, to be a veritable 'running sore' in his reputation. His fame began gradually to waste, and along with it his career of conquest. He did, indeed, try to divert the attention of the world from the scene of his failure by undertaking expeditions to Austria and Russia ; but the Russian expedition failed most miserably, and proved in the end to be the herald of his downfall. In 1815, he was finally defeated, and the Napoleonic meteor disappeared for ever from the European horizon.

The disappearance of Napoleon, however, did not mean the elimination of the north-western danger to the British possessions in India. Napoleon's dream of an Indian invasion through the north-west passes lived after him, though not in the breast of Frenchmen. Its inheritor was the Russian Czar, who, on the conclusion of the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, had been one of Napoleon's intimate associates in the scheme of such an invasion.

The position of Russia, for the purposes of such an invasion, is admittedly of clear and unique advantage. Situated on the eastern-most extremity of Europe, Russia has freely shared of the cultures of both the continents. She has accordingly combined European shrewd practical-mindedness with the Oriental love of power. It was quite natural for her to look for the extension of her possessions in the east, and no wonder therefore that all through the 19th century she has continued to pursue that policy with consistent steadiness, even some times in the face of violent reverses.

In the long run, therefore, Russia proved far more potent and dangerous an enemy to British Government in India than Napoleon could have ever been. Napoleon had believed in overrunning countries by storm, which gave him at best only a temporary sovereignty over his conquests. But Russian methods were different. Being a semi-oriental power herself, in sentiment as well as in geographical situation, Russia pursued a policy of slow and steady conquest and permanent settlement of territories. Her influence, therefore, was more lasting, and as a consequence the danger from her more permanent.

The Russian danger began to loom large in the horizon almost immediately in the wake of the Napoleonic fall. Napoleon's fall, in fact, had to a large measure been due to the bold strategy of the Russians in 1811; it was in Moscow that he had suffered his first really serious defeat. Out of the Napoleonic interlude Russia naturally emerged suddenly as one of the greatest European powers. Her pre-eminence came to be generally recognised, as is evident from the decisive role that she played in the Congress of Vienna in 1815. But although this changed status of Russia was clearly visible to everybody, and although it should have been only wise to expect a serious danger if she should look with covetous eyes at the Indian dominions, yet the British Government took some time in fully appreciating the great danger from Russia. It was, however, not before very long that it did come to be realised, and when once realised it started preying upon their mind veritably like a nightmare. But the first reaction of the British Government, upon the fall of Napoleon in Europe, was a spell of complacent self-assurance.

K

First Phase

In this period of first reactions, the British Government, on the whole, contented themselves with a lukewarmly friendly Persia as a protective barrier against Russian progress towards the east.

It must be said in justification of the British attitude that although Russia had been actively engaged in extending her territories n the east ever since the last decade of the 18th century, at no time so far had her progress seemed particularly rapid or particularly brilliant. She had been literally engrossed in a sanguinary conflict

with Persia throughout these years. This conflict had started as early as 1795, with a Persian invasion of Tiflis, and had dragged on till 1801, with no other conquest by Russia but that of the small state of Georgia ; and even so the Persians were actively planning to make an effort to regain that territory. It had started again in 1804 and was now in the course of progress. If the conquest of a few hundred miles of territory took Russia as many as five years, surely the British Government in India need not be afraid of Russian aggressions at least for hundreds of years more. This was the attitude taken by the British Government of India at this time.

For quite two decades, the British Government continued to be guided by what has been called in history as the Metcalfe school of north-west policy. It has been so called because the clearest enunciation of its attitude and policy was given, a little later, by Sir Charles Metcalfe, when he was member of the Governor-General's council. To him the Russian invasion of India did not seem a serious possibility ; but even if such an invasion did take place, he felt that it would be better to meet it on the river Sutlej, which had been fixed as the north-western boundary of British India in 1809, rather than seek to raise barriers against it by a network of political alliances with the north-western powers on promises of military aid.

Sir Charles Metcalfe summed up his views in a minute which he wrote in 1830 on the immediate proposal for the navigation of the Indus.[1] He said:

" It may be safely said, I conceive, that a Russian invasion in the way supposed, while the Russian frontiers are so remote from our own, is an event so improbable that it may be pronounced as far as anything can be impossible. If we are ever troubled with a Russian invasion, it must be after an approximation of our frontiers, and whether this is to take place by advances on our side or that of Russia, whether it is to conquer the intermediate countries or acquire interest over them, whether the event apprehended is to occur in two or twenty years or in fifty or a hundred, what revolutions are to take place in the meantime, in the intermediate states or in India or in Russia herself or throughout the whole world, in what quarter is she to make her attack and what will be the state of things when she may make

[1] Minutes of Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated 25th October, 1830. Bengal Secret Consultations.

it, these are all matters of such importance that it seems mere wantonness to vex and alarm our neighbours by surveying their lands and rivers, by deceit and force, without their consent, and without knowing to what purpose.....If, therefore, I were asked what is best to be done with a view to a Russian invasion, I should say it is best to do nothing, until time shall show what is best to do, because there is nothing we can do in our present blind state that would be of certain benefit on the approach of that event."

As a corollary to Sir Charles Metcalfe's views on the Russian invasion, it may be stated that although he was opposed to the policy of entanglements in the north-western countries in anticipation of the Russian danger, Sir Charles Metcalfe was equally strongly opposed to the principle formulated by the British Parliament in 1793 that ' to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominions in India are measures repugnant to the wish, honour, and policy of this nation.' He was opposed to that because he believed that the strength of the British Government in India lay only in its capacity to consolidate, and that consolidation was not possible so long as the territory of the British Government, within its recognised frontiers, did not become completely homogeneous. He did not, therefore, hesitate to advise whenever possible the use of the clauses in the Act of 1793, enabling the Governor-General to go to war, when war seemed necessary, to defend the territories of the allies of Great Britain. He was prepared to make all conquests that could justifiably be made to the south and east of the Sutlej. Such conquests brought more trade, more revenue, and the possibility of more effective government, and therefore necessarily greater security. He approved of the Pindari war and the last Maratha war of 1817-18, for the annexations following upon them gave to the British Government control of Central India. His idea was that conquests and annexations, within the natural British frontiers, increased British Government's power to defend her possessions against any outside invader by giving to those possessions a unity, homogeneity, and increased resources.

L

This, then, was the policy to which the British Government in India adhered all through this period of two decades, following upon the downfall of Napoleon. The envoy of the Home Government, Sir Harford Jones, had already concluded a preliminary treaty with

Persia in 1809, which he had sent with Morier, accompanied by a Persian ambassador, for ratification by the British Cabinet in London; and there, for the present, the British Government in India let the matters stand. They did not concern themselves during this period with the intermediate states between Persia and India at all.

The war between Russia and Persia was still going on in 1809. It had continued intermittently since 1795. After the conclusion of the preliminary treaty, the British Government gave some secret help to Persia: her forces were frequently led in battle by English officers, who also drilled and trained both the Persian artillery and infantry. But while the war against Napoleon was going on in Europe, the British Government had no intention of purchasing the enmity of Russia in the east. Therefore, all help that was given to Persia was given under cover and was indirect in character.

On the 14th March, 1812, the preliminary treaty was ratified. The subsidy which the British Government had agreed to pay to Persia in virtue of potential military aid was raised from 160,000 to 200,000 tourmans, and in view of the continuing war against Russia was even paid 'in as early instalments as may be convenient and practicable,'—actually six months in advance.

But so long as this conflict between Russia and Persia was going on, the British Government could not feel very easy. Curiously enough, therefore, she used her own good offices with Persia to persuade her to make a peace with Russia, and formally cede to her the conquests that the latter had made. The treaty of Gulistan was concluded in 1813, whereby Persia recognised the Russian conquests of Karabagh, Shirvan, Baku and Kouba, and abandoned all claims to Georgia and its constituent states, although the exact limits of the Russian and Persian territories were reserved for later settlement. The important gains made by the treaty of Gulistan gave to Russia a dominating position in the Caucasus, and her possessions now stretched from sea to sea. Persia also agreed not to maintain, as she had intended to do, a naval force in the Caspian Sea.

This last provision in the treaty of Gulistan necessitated a certain revision in the definitive treaty of March, 1812, the seventh article of which had stipulated that 'should the King of Persia form magazines of materials for ship-building on the coast of the Caspian Sea and resolve to establish a naval base, the King of England shall grant permission to naval officers, seamen, shipwrights, carpenters, etc., to

proceed to Persia from London and Bombay and to enter the service of the King of Persia, the pay of such officers, artificers, etc., being given by his Persian Majesty at the rates which may be agreed upon by the British ambassador.' This clause was now rendered void by the agreement of Persia, as embodied in the treaty of Gulistan with Russia, not to maintain a naval force on the Caspian Sea. Therefore it was eliminated, and the treaty of March 4, 1812, was signed in its final form at Teheran on 25th November, 1814.

In this whole affair, it must be pointed out, the British Government had shown a very weak attitude and a thorough lack of appreciation of the Russian danger. By persuading the Shah of Persia to agree to the terms of the treaty of Gulistan, the British Government had indirectly helped to consolidate the Russian position in a zone where, of all the places in the north-western territories, she was likely to meet the largest amount of intermittent opposition, and thus to make her progress towards India easier. By keeping the question of the Russian and Persian borders still undecided, she had permitted the continuance of a cause of future trouble between the two states, of which Russia was obviously the stronger, so that there was left a room for Russia to create a conflict and swallow some more of Persian territory, whenever she should feel strong enough to do so. But what is more important than all this, by the incorporation of one highly ill-conceived provision in the Treaty of Teheran, she had created for herself vast possibilities of a serious difficulty in the future. By stating that 'should any European power be engaged in war with Persia, his Britannic Majesty engages to use his best endeavours to bring Persia and such European power to a friendly understanding, failing which, England shall.....send a force from India or in lieu thereof pay an annual subsidy for the support of a Persian army, so long as the war in the supposed case shall continue and unless Persia shall make peace with such nation,' the article 6th of the Treaty exposed the British Government to the possibility of being technically at war with Russia in the east, even though she may be at peace with her in Europe. That this is not a purely hypothetical supposition was proved a little later in 1826, when war again broke out between Persia and Russia but when England was at peace with Russia in Europe, and was in fact, contemplating some form of common action with her in the War of Greek Independence. It was only by means of a tricky contrivance that the British Government was then able to

come out of its awkward obligations and position. That we shall explain later.

The wording, however, of the Treaty of Teheran was otherwise magnificent. The plan of defence that it envisaged against Russian invasion of India was extremely wide. It bound the Persian Government 'not to allow any other European to enter Persian territory, or to proceed towards India or to any part of that country ; and also to engage not to allow any individuals of such European nations, entertaining a design of invading India, or being at enmity with Great Britain, whatever to enter Persia.' And 'should any European power wish to invade India by the road of Khorasan, Tartaristan, Bokhara, Samarkand, and other routes, his Persian Majesty engages to induce the Kings and Governors of those countries to oppose such invasions as much as in his power, either by the fear of his army or by conciliatory measures.' Again, 'should the Afghans be at war with the British nation, his Persian Majesty engages to send an army against them in such manner as may be concerted with the English Government: the expenses of such army shall be defrayed by the British Government in such manner as may be agreed upon at the period of its being required,' while 'if war should be declared between the Afghans and the Persians, the English Government shall not interfere with either party unless their mediation to effect a peace shall be solicited by both parties.'

M

With these provisions, the Treaty of Teheran continued to be the mainstay of the British north-west policy till 1826. The aim of British statesmen during this period of quiescence was to slowly and silently help Persia in strengthening her military resources, in the hope that Persia might become the furthest strong and invulnerable barrier against the advance of Russia towards India. But the hope of the British Government was soon to be disappointed.

The relations between Russia and Persia had been generally peaceful so far ; but in 1826, there arose a serious dispute over the exact definition of territory ceded to Russia by the treaty of Gulistan. As a matter of fact, a certain amount of secret irritation had existed between the two countries from the time of the conclusion of the treaty of Gulistan itself : the border tribes had given constant trouble by

moving from one side of the frontier to the other and coming alternately under Russian and Persian jurisdiction. But in 1826 events took a more serious turn. The Russian officers in Georgia had, by one of their inadvertent acts, outraged the feelings of the Muslim subjects, so that Mullas of Persia started demanding from the Shah punishment of those who had insulted their religion. The Shah was anyhow looking forward to a suitable opportunity for making an attempt to regain his lost lands. The year 1826 presented such an opportunity, for then Russia seemed to be on the verge of a struggle with Turkey in the Greek question. The Shah of Persia, therefore, daclared a war with Russia, and in July the Persian troops descended upon Karabagh.

Burning with furious resentment, the Persians raided and massacred the garrisons of the isolated Russian outposts, and regained some part of the disputed territory. But these early successes did not continue for long. As soon as the Russians were able to give a little more attention to the war, the Persians began to suffer defeat after defeat. In September, 1828, Prince Abbus Mirza himself was beaten by the Russian General, Paskewitch. At length, through the intervention of the British again, a new treaty superseding that of Gulistan was signed at Turkmanchai in February, 1829. By this Treaty, Persia granted to Russia the Khanates of Erivan and Nakhichevan, and the right of navigating the whole of the Caspian Sea, so that Russia consolidated her position to the south-east of Caucasus and acquired a strong frontier in that quarter.

In this war British diplomacy was very sorely tried. According to the Treaty of Teheran, the British Government had pledged herself to support Persia in her struggles with any European power ; but in 1826, Great Britain was at peace with Russia and in view of the War of Greek Independence did not desire a breach with her in Europe. In these circumstances, she had to find an excuse for not helping Persia in the argument that, according to the terms of the Treaty of Teheran, she would be bound to join the war only if it had been started by Russian aggressions, but that as in the present case the war had been started by Persia, the British Government could not reasonably be required to join it. It need hardly be said that the British argument was a mere excuse. In Persia and generally in the east, it was understood that the British Government was really afraid of Russia and had invented a false argument simply to save her face.

But this war also came as a great lesson to the British Government. They had counted so far on Persian strength and resources. The war came as an eye-opener to them. It made them realise the hard fact that whatever steps they might take to raise in Persia a bulwark against the advance of Russia towards India were destined to fail, for Persia's weakness was incurable, being inherent in her whole organisation of life and government, so that Persia could not be relied upon to make a stand against Russia. During these years, the English had lent men and money to help Persia ; yet before the attacks of her enemy Persia had fallen like a house of cards.

It looked ominous, indeed, to the British Government that Russian attack and victory on Persia should so closely synchronise with the Russian victory over the Sultan of Turkey, and the Russo-Persian treaty of Turkmanchai should be concluded at the same time as the treaty of Adrianople. Two allies of Great Britain, the two principal Muhammadan states, had been at the same time humbled by the all-sweeping storm of Russian power, inspite of British protests. It looked probable that now Russia had decided to seize the heritage of Islam both in Europe and in Asia. If, therefore, the British Government intended to keep her hold on her Indian possessions, she must necessarily think of some more sound and more feasible policy of erecting a stronger and more dependable barrier between British India and Russia than the effete Persian empire.

N

As soon, therefore, as the British Government abandoned the effort to raise an efficient bulwark against Russian encroachments in Persia, and limited the functions of the British envoy there to mere observation or at best to encouragement and sympathy rather than to render active military aid, the British Government turned its attention to the countries intermediate between Persia and India.

It cannot be said that the British Government had been entirely indifferent to these countries before, but their interest had been on the whole rather remote and superficial. A number of adventurers, like Grant, Christie, Pottinger, Connolly, Moorcroft, and Burnes, sometimes on their own initiative and sometimes under the patronage and with the support of the Government, had been going on journeys in and collecting valuable geographical and political information about the north-western countries. These journeys, had been undertaken in the

different zones from which an invasion of India from the north-west could be possible.

The first zone to attract attention had been the route by which Sind and the Punjab could be approached from Persia. On this route, Grant had made his journey through the Mekran territory and Henry Pottinger and Charles Christie through Baluchistan to Persia in 1810. These explorers had methodically studied the possibilities of a successful march of the Russian armies from Persia through these territories. Grant, for instance, had investigated the coast-line of the Arabian Sea and decided that it was quite possible for an army to march from South Persia to Karachi. Pottinger and Christie, similarly, in the disguise of horse dealers, had travelled through Baluchistan and investigated how that country was separated from Persia. The narratives of these writers are generally very precise and full of minute and interesting descriptive details. Twenty years later, Christie's study of Herat was supplemented by a young subaltern of the Bengal cavalry, named Arthur Connolly, who scaled in 1830, the Bolan Pass and went as far as Khiva to see whether that state was at all in serious danger of being invaded by the Russians.

There were two more routes through which India could be approached by Russia. One was from the hills lying to the north and north-east of the Punjab, and the other was by approaching Afghanistan from Central Asia and then advancing on India. With the exploration of these routes is associated the almost legendary name of William Moorcroft. His reputation was perhaps unduly enhanced after his death, only to become deeply obscured after the publication of his travels, which revealed the technical shortcomings of his methods and the littleness of his achievements. His first travel had been made in Chinese Tibet in 1811 and the second in 1819 in Central Asia with the purpose of discovering the two trade routes, one the road from Kashmir to the Chinese frontier station of Yarkand, and the other from Yarkand to Bokhara. In both those travels he had collected a lot of useful information although rather vague and inconclusive in its nature ; but he found a worthy successor to supplement his work in the person of Alexander Burnes.

Alexander Burnes had come into the East India Company's service at the early age af sixteen years. He became a pupil of Henry Pottinger, and was, therefore, from the very outset trained to concentrate upon the exploration of the Indus and the defences of

western India. At the age of 25, he had begun an independent and original study of Afghanistan and the Caspian area. His problem was to discover what would be the most likely route to be taken by a Russian army advancing upon India from the east side of the Caspian Sea. His conclusions, as was proved by the later developments of the north-western question in the nineteenth century, were very accurate and highly sagacious. He found that the Oxus was navigable from the head of its delta to a point not more than twenty miles distant from the great barrier of mountains separating Afghanistan from the plains of Turkistan ; but the difficulties of the long chains of passes which he traversed through that barrier led him to doubt the probability of a Russian advance by that way. He felt instead that a Russian army would rather make its way still further up the Oxus, and thence proceed to Kashmir, where it could prepare in security for its attack on India. Chitral, in his estimation, would in that contingency be an important key-position for the British Government to control. Burnes also checked the various reports which Moorcroft had made; and he held the view, opposed to Moorcroft's that there was hardly any serious and imminent danger from the Uzbeg states inspite of the busy correspondence between Russia and Bokhara.

O

Second Phase

But the fears of the British statesmen, after the defeat of Persia by Russia in 1829, were greatly aroused. The psychological state of their mind can be clearly seen from some interesting correspondence that passed in that year between the Duke of Wellington, who was then the Prime Minister, and Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control. Both agreed upon the basic hypothesis that the Russian danger to India was within the range of imminent possibility. The Russian army was then commanded by the brilliant general, Paskewitch, who openly talked of the approaching war with England.

Ellenborough, however, had his doubts regarding the route that the invading Russian army would take. In his opinion, Kabul alone could be the base of operations and Kabul could be approached either by way of Persia or by way of Turkistan, by ascending the river Oxus to some point from which they could conveniently approach the

passes of the Hindu-Kush. He, therefore, asked for information from the Government of India as well as from the Foreign Office regarding the military and political and commercial state of Central Asia.

It is not altogether strange that the information asked for could not be secured fully from India. As we explained before, the policy of the Government of India since the time of Lord Wellesley had been shaped by officials brought up in the Metcalfe school of north-west policy, to whom it seemed unnecessary and even absurd to seek to collect such information of countries with whom they did not have a direct concern, for the Russian invasion itself did not seem to them a serious possibility. That policy could now no longer be allowed to guide the counsels of the Government when Lord Ellenborough was the head of the Board of Control. Therefore the idea was formulated of gradually extending British influence to the Indus: the Sutlej was too much in the interior of the country, and could not be considered as a safe frontier for the meeting of the Russian invasion. The primary step in this new policy was to dispatch an experienced British explorer for the navigation of the Indus on the pretext of ferrying some dray horses to be sent as presents from the King of England to Raja Ranjit Singh.

The question has often been discussed by scholars of Indian history whether the aim of the navigation of the Indus in 1830-31 was, at its basis, commercial or political. British scholars have sought to prove that it was a purely commercial venture. Great wealth of argument has been expended to establish that point. W. Napier in his book on the *Conquest of Sind* remarked that 'it was an enlightened desire to ascertain the commercial capabilities of the Indus that induced Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, to employ the late Sir Alexander Burnes to explore the river in 1831, under the pretence of conveying presents to Ranjit Singh.' Statements, however, are available to support one view as strongly as the other. In the dispatch on the subject, there is an indirect mention of both the aims: commercial aims are curiously confused with the political.

Looking, however, to the state of Lord Ellenborough's mind in 1830, it is difficult to deny that basically the purpose of the whole venture was political. That commerce was simply a precursor to conquest seems hardly to have made home in any other mind so well as in Lord Ellenborough's. In his correspondence with the Duke of Wellington in 1829, he expresses his fears most clearly that 'Russian

commerce would prepare the way for Russian armies ; as soon as a chain of outposts for the protection of Russian trade would begin to appear in the direction of Kabul, the route selected by the Russians for this advance would be indicated.' Commerce, to Lord Ellenborough, was, therefore, simply as a cover for political penetration and political conquest. This point becomes abundantly clear from the dispatch:[1]

(*a*) After expressing a vague hope that as a result of the navigation of the Indus Britain might be able to extend her trade in Central Asia, the dispatch asks the Governor-General ' to direct his attention ' to ' the political effects which would be the result of success.'

(*b*) The dispatch goes on to say that 'Russia may desire the possession of China and Bokhara for purposes purely commercial, but no commercial benefits which would result to her from their occupation would be sufficient to cover the expense of their conquest. Be her object, however, what it may, we must look only to the effect her advance would produce on our interests. We must consider that advance to indicate the hostile designs which it would afford the means of conducting and against that advance we must adopt the measures of counteraction dictated to us by a view of our own interests and by a regard of our own safety as an Asiatic power.' It is clear that the navigation of the Indus was undertaken primarily as a measure of counteraction against Russian advance.

(*c*) In the dispatch itself there is formulated a fully detailed principle of action, which in its implications is more political than commercial: (1) That an envoy be sent to visit Lahore to acquire a knowledge of the present state of the Sikh dominion and army and to obtain all such information as may enable you to form a judgment of the probable consequences of Ranjit Singh's decease ; (2) that the same envoy should take with him presents from the King of England and an effort be made to get Ranjit Singh to assist in the re-establishment of commerce on the Indus ; (3) that there should be an attempt to develop the Indus as a means of transport of goods to Central Asia and Kabul.

(*d*) The argument leaves of no doubt when we consider the summary in the dispatch of the British attitude towards Sind. " We are far from desirous of having any collision with the people of

[1] *See* from the Secret Committee to the Governor-General, dated 12th Jan., 1830. Secret Despatches and Correspondence, 1827-33, Vol. 36, No. 729.

Sind but we cannot permit any jealous feeling on their part to close the navigation of the Indus, should it appear to offer results not only commercially but politically important which, but for them, would be attained !"

The circumstances of the period when the project of the navigation of the Indus was conceived, the pretence upon which it was undertaken and the sentiments of the Amirs of Sind and other rulers of the territories concerned in the scheme, all bear out without any shadow of doubt that the underlying motive in the suggestion was ultimately political. It was simply given a commercial character. Further testimony to this view is lent by the minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1831, in which, with reference to the proposal for the navigation of the Indus, he speaks of it as 'mere wantonness to vex and alarm our neighbours by surveying their lands and rivers by deceit or force without their consent and without knowing to what purpose.' In his minute, he fully discusses the political significance of the move, but does not even so much as refer to any commercial advantages that Lord Ellenborough might have had in view.

In any case, all doubts as to the real motive behind the navigation of the Indus get resolved as soon as it is remembered that this project was only part of a whole scheme. The aim of Lord Ellenborough and Lord William Bentinck's government was to raise a 'rampart' of friendly powers on the immediate north-west of India. In April, 1831, in pursuance of this very scheme, there was arranged an interview between the Governor-General and the ruler of Lahore at Rupar, with the manifest purpose of further strengthening the friendship between the British Government and Sikhs, whose aid and assistance would be invaluable in the case of an attack from the north-west of India. That this conversation was fraught with active political interest is borne out by the increased activity of Raja Ranjit Singh in the affairs of Shah Shuja, the ex-ruler of Kabul, immediately after this interview.

EDUCATION IN MUSLIM INDIA

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I

Preliminary

THE acquisition of knowledge is ordained as compulsory for every man and woman in Islam. The Prophet of Islam advised both the sexes to go in search of education without consideration of geographical boundaries. Literacy was confined to a few only, in Arabia at the time of the advent of the Prophet. Though the Prophet himself was unlettered, still in his anxiety to spread literacy he fixed tuition to his followers as the ransom for those literates who were brought to him as captives during the battle of Badr.[1] Under such impetus from their leader the Muslims were sure to imbibe a strong love for knowledge and education. Soon after their leader's death, Ali was seen lecturing on Theology, and Philosophy in the compound of Kaaba. Ali began to coach his sons and cousin Abdullah Ibn Abbas with a view to making them fit for imparting education to the other Muslims. Ali's descendants, without a single exception, cultivated knowledge in their lives of retirement and passed their time lecturing before a set of pupils. Malik bin Anas and Ibn Hanifa were the celebrated disciples of Immam-Jaaferus-Sadik. These pupils in their turn delivered lectures and started educational academies on their own account. Soon the mosques and schools became identical. Every mosque had a school[2] attached to it. There the Imam worked both as the leader of the prayer and a teacher.

Encouragement to Authors

Books on the known sciences were written or translated by distinguished scholars under the patronage of the state or wealthy individuals. The works were copied, bound and distributed at times among the learned in different parts of the country. Caligraphy and book-binding were developed into fine arts. They were encouraged by the munificence of princes and nobles.

[1] Kamil Ibn Athir, Ed. Wright, p. 171.
[2] Ibn-e-Zubair, p. 48.

This zeal for spreading and fostering education was not confined to Arabia only. It was in evidence in Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Spain and India.

Recruitment of Teachers

Now let us deal with the educational policy of the Muslims, particularly in India. Before dealing with the education of the masses we will do well to dwell on the system of education proper. First of all we shall consider the recruitment of teachers. Distinguished scholars from all over the Muslim World were invited and encouraged to live in India by the inducement of pensions and the conferment of distinction.[1] The state granted pensions and *jagirs* to some and others were patronised by the nobility and such patronage was considered a virtue. Even the ladies of the royal family and of the aristocracy did not lag behind others in their zeal for the patronage of letters.[2]

Education of the Royal Family

We may refer first of all to the education of the members of the Royal House. They were, as a rule, entrusted not to one teacher only but to several, each for a particular subject in which he might have specialised. The beginner had to learn Caligraphy,[3] and to read or commit the Koran to memory before taking to the General Arabic Syllabus. This continued till the age of 15 years and then he had to attend to his military duties.[4] Physical exercise was also a part of the education. *Pahalwans* (expert athletes) were officially appointed and the use of arms was taught by noted swordsmen. The existence of an *Akhharha* for physical exercise and a tank for swimming was a necessity in the palace.

Education of Ladies in the Royal Family

The education of the ladies of the Royal House was considered imperative. Learned ladies from abroad were employed.[5] After

1 Badauni, p. 355.

2 This subject has been exhaustively treated by Dr. N. N. Law in his book "Promotion of Learning under Muslims."

3 See the picture of Dara Shikoh in the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghosh.

4 *Vide* Tughlaknama of Amir Khusru. It is recorded about Muhammad bin Tughlak and all his brothers that they studied the Koran till the 15th year and then took to training in arms.

5 The life accounts of Nawab Jehan Ara Begum and other Timurid Princesses throw considerable light on this point. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar's "*Studies*."

completing the reading of the Koran they learnt the rudiments of daily religious duties. Then they studied the humanities. The ladies paid more attention to Persian than to Arabic. Needle-work and cookery were also learnt.

Education of the Nobility

Then comes the nobility. The nobility of Muslim India copied the Royal Family in many details of habits. They followed the same routine and etiquette in all the walks of life. Here they made a happy departure from the convention in the Royal Family in this respect that the nobles allowed the meritorious children of their subordinates to sit by their own children at the feet of the teacher appointed by them.[2]

Mass Education

Next we should turn to general educational policy of the Muslim rulers for spreading education among the masses. The state did realise its duty to educate the future citizens, very early in the 8th Century A.D., although Europe failed to recognise this duty till near the end of the 19th Century A.D. The Muslim army was always accompanied by Muslim missionaries[3] and the Muslim occupation of a place was formerly declared by the construction of a mosque in the locality.[4] We know that to a mosque necessarily a *Maktab* was attached. The *Maktab* was responsible for imparting education to

1 Khazainul Futuh of Khusrɯ.

2 Siyarul Auliya.

3 Baladhari, p 437 and Chachnama, Elliot, p. 158.

4 Firishta while describing the conquest of Bengal by Bukhtiar Khilji says, " He built Rangpur and made it his capital. In that city and territory he built mosques, khanqas and schools according to the Muslim custom ." (Vol. 2) and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's " *Studies.*"

In the Calcutta University Education Commission Report, Vol. II, page 148, it has been held that during the Muslim rule in Bengal there were Madrassahs all over the country and every mosque was a Madrassah in miniature. An admirable survey of the indigenous system of education carried out in 1835 and the following years by Mr. Adams showed that a network of primitive vernacular schools existed throughout Bengal. (Calcutta University Commission Report, Vol. I, p. 36.)

Sir Thomas Munro says that there were schools in every village. (*Vide* his evidence before the two Houses of Parliament, March and April, 1813.) John Matheu in his Village Administration of British India says that when the British took possession of the country they found in most part of the country a widely-spread system of national Education.

Mr. Adams (to whom we have already referred) writes—" There were one lakh of village schools in Bengal and Bihar in which instructions in elements of knowledge were given and which were originated and supported by Indians themselves."

A distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction in a minute on the subject expressed the opinion that if one rupee per mensem was intended in a village school in lower provinces the amount would probably fall a little short of twelve lakhs per

the children of the locality.[1] The classes were attended both by boys and girls. With gradual increase in the population of the Faithful the numbers of mosques in towns increased and consequently the number of the *Maktabs*. The bigger towns had a Jam-e-masjid. The smaller mosques had *Maktabs* and the Jam-e-masjid had *Madrasah*.[2] The former served the purpose of primary education, teaching, elementary Mathematics and the reading of the Koran and the writing of letters. The latter imparted higher education.[3] The syllabus was fixed for higher studies throughout Muslim India. We will deal with the syllabus separately.

The Muslim missionaries set up centres of their activities with their respective branches at different places of the Provinces. These centres were called *Khankah* and they were necessarily seats of learning preparing students for propaganda work or for undertaking official duties as officials of the state. They were just like the monasteries of Christian Europe of the Middle Ages.[4] (Here I strongly beg to differ from Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who in his " Studies " holds a quite opposite view.)

The tombs built on the remains of kings, nobles and divines, were used as *Madrasahs* and sufficient sums were endowed for their maintenance. This is why these tombs are known to our own days not only as tombs of so and so but also as *Madrasahs* of so and so.

annum. This supposes that there were one lakh of schools in Bengal and Bihar assuming the then population of these two provinces to be 40,000,000. There would be in every village a school for 400 persons, taking 11/20 of the above 400 persons and 3/7 of the result it will follow that in Bengal and Bihar there was on average a village school for every 63 pupils of school-going age of pupil. It will appear from the system of village school still extensively prevalent that the desire to give education to their children must be deeply-seated in their minds of parents even of humblest classes. (*Vide* Adams' Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, published in 1868, and Report of Muslim Education Advisory Committee.

1 Yakut, Makrizi, Vol. IV, pp. 44, 201.

2 Ibn-e-Zubair, p. 48.

3 The Muizzi Madrassah was built adjacent to a mosque. The Madrassah at the tomb of Alauddin was adjacent to Quwatul-Islam Mosque. Muhammad Tughlak built Madrasah and Mosque adjacent. At Lahore the Mosque of Wazir Khan also served the purpose of a college. Jehan Ara Begam built a college attached to the Jumma Mosque, built by her. Similarly the Altala Mosque at Jaunpur had a college attached to it. At Dacca Shaista Khan built a Madrasah attached to the mosque on the bank of the river. Similarly there in Muhallah Azampura there was a mosque with Madrassah where people especialised in Sufism.

4 For example Khankah of Mukhdum Shah at Maner. Khankah of Shah Kabir at Sassaram had a Library worth one lac. Both Farrukhsiar and Shah Alam endowed landed properties for the maintenance of Khankah and Madrassah. Khankah of Phulwari Sharif, Patna, Khankah of Pir Syed Muhammed Gesudaraz at Gulbarga, Khankah of Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia (Firishta, Vol. 2) and Khankah Mahal (Bihar) are the best examples.

These tombs had numerous rooms attached to them, in order to serve as a hostel for the students.[1]

The fourth category of educational institutions was supplied by a number of families of Muslim Scholars living in certain towns.[2] Their reputation attracted pupils from all parts of the country and they maintained High Schools or Colleges, imparting the highest instruction in their special subjects. At times such scholarship proved hereditary, they received pensions and subsidies from the state.

Besides the state set up *Madrasahs* and *Maktabs* in different cities, towns and villages, throughout the empire. The nobility and rich people also opened such institutions as a mark of their generosity and love of learning.[3]

These institutions were maintained solely or partly at the cost of the Government. Others opened by individuals were endowed with sufficient landed property to maintain them. Many individual

[1] Tomb of Ala-Uddin Khilji at Delhi (Futuhat Firuz Shahi), Tomb of Fateh Khao, son of Firuz Shah (Firishta : Atharus-Sanadid), Tomb of Humayun (Stephen), Tomb of Sheikh Chulli at Thaneswar (Arch. Rep.), Tomb of Safdar Jung at Delhi, Tomb of Ahmed Khato at Sarkhez (Yadi-Ayam), Tomb Sheikh Husam Uddin Multani (Yadi-i-Ayam), Tomb of Ibrahim Sur (the grandfather of Sher Shah) at Nar Naul, Tomb of Syed Muhammedbin Abdullah at Surat (Haqiqat-us-Surat)

[2] Thatta, Ajodhan, Sial Kot; Sarhind; Kanauj; Nagor, Ahmadabad; Pattan, Jaunpur, etc. See *Studies* of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Lahore, Delhi, Allahabad, Lucknow, Multan, Badaun, Subali, Bilgram.

[3] At Delhi Muizzi (built by Shamsuddin Iltutmish), Nasarya (built by Sultan Mahmud, son of Sumsuddin Iltutmish). Hanzkhas (Alauddin Khilji), Khurramabad (Muhammed Tughluk) Firoz Shahi Firoz Shah, Balban, Humayuni (exact name could not be traced). Khairul Manazil by Maham Anga, Darul Baka by Shah Jehan (Stephen), Ajmeri Darwaza (Amir Gaziuddin Khan• Firuz Jung). Shah Abdur Rahim (built by Shah Abdur Rahim), Wazir Khan's Musjid at Lahore and another at Agra Madrassah (exact name could not be ascertained) built by Akbar (Tafrihul Imarat by Lal Set Chand) Zatly Madrasah (Muntabakhatut-Twarikh). Madrasah Jehan Ara Begam (exact name could not be ascertained). At Fatehpur Sikri a Madrassah was built by Akbar at the top of the hill (exact name could not be ascertained *vide* Ain-i-Akbari) at Badaun, Muzzi (Shamsuddin Iltutmish). At Rampur Madrasah i-Alia (built by Faizulla Khan). At Shah Jehanpur Madrasa-i-Shah Jehanpur (of Hafiz Rahmat Khan). At Barreily Madrassa-i-Barriely (do.). At Pilibhit Madrassa-i-Pilibhit, at Fateh Gadh, Madrassa-i-Fatehgadh (built by Saadat Ali Khan and Ghaziuddin Haidar). (U.P. Historical Soceity Journal).

At Allahabad Dairai Shah Afzal had a college. Fakhrul Marabey College was at Farrukhabad. Another Madrasah was built by Nawab Muhammed Khan Bangash (Asari-i-Khair). Jaunpur had numerous Madrasahs. One was Madrasah of Raja Bibi built by Raja Bibi. Another was Attala Madrasah. At Benares Madrasah of Maulana Amanullah. A Madrasah at Danapur, Bihar, built by Haibatjang. At Azimabad Masjid (by Sair Khan). There was one at Dacca built by Saista Khan. Another Madrasah Katra at Murshidabad. Madrasah-i-Ansari and Madrasah-i-Baghdadi at Ahmed Nagar (Athare i-Khair). Madrasah-i-Serajpur and Madrasah-i-Daulatabad. At Madras, Madrasahi-i-Wala-Jahi built by Nawab Walajah. In Malwa Madrasah-i-Shadibad (Firishta), Madrasah-i Serangpur of Mahmud Khilji, Madrasah of Ujjain. In Multan and Uch Madrasah-i-Firuz (Tabqat-i-Nasir). In Kashmere there was built a Madrasah by Hussain Chak Shah (Firishta). In Gujrat Madrasah-i-Saif Khan built by Saif Khan (Mirat-i-Ahmadi). Madrasah-i-Sheikh-Ul-Islam built by Kadi Akramuddin Khan. Madrasah-i-Wajihuddin and Madrasah-i-Talab Surur Khan.

distinguished savants opened private schools at their own abodes after specialising in some subject. They also received state aid.[1]

Since the advent of the Muslims in India the Government had a department which was supervised by Sadrus-Sadur, a Govt. High official. The department controlled the Wakfs and Alms-fund, and recommended or granted scholarships to students and charitable institutions as state patronage. The educational institutions received aid in the form of cash or landed property. The aid was given with a view to paying the teacher's salary and stipends to students. The students received education, board and lodging free of cost. The expenses were borne by this department of the state or by wealthy members of the society. Some of the students of such institution which did not receive sufficient aid, were given free board and lodging by neighbouring rich men and thus the burden was shared by a few well-to-do families.

Educational Policy of Central Government Under Different Muslim Kings

The following facts indicating the zeal and interest of the Muslim Sovereigns in the education of their Indian subjects, will, we believe, convince the readers that the education of their subjects was a definite policy in the Muslim administration of India.

Shahabuddiu Masud, the son and successor of Mahmud Ghaznavi took special interest in the education of his subjects He built so many schools and colleges during the early part of his reign that it was impossible for the historian[2] to enumerate and count them.

Similar interest was taken by Shahabuddin Mahammad Ghori[3] who set up numerous schools in the territory of Ajmere after the Muslim conquest.

After the conquest of Bengal Muhammadbin Bakhtiyar Khilji built numerous schools and colleges throughout the Muslim territories.[4]

1 Under this head it is difficult to count as their number is huge. Badauni and other historians give a detailed account of many such teachers. As an evidence we will quote only a few lines from Badauni. "Sheikh Saadullah Bani Israt was the chief disciple of Sheikh at Nakhas. Sheikh Abdulla Badauni was the student of several distinguished savants. For years he taught at Badaun." A few other distinguished names are: Mian Hatim of Sambhal, Mian Jamal Khan of Delhi, Sheikh Jalaluddin of Thaneswar, Sheikh Bhikan of Kallori, etc.

2 Firishta.

3 Tajul Maathir.

4 Firishta, Vol. II.

What his successors did in India cannot be properly estimated from the meagre accounts given by the historians. They refer to some big schools and colleges which they built but do not refer to their actual interest in the cause. But from a definite statement made by Ibn Battuta, when the Muslim sovereignty was perfectly established on the Indian soil, we are in a position to judge that they did immensely to promote the education of their subjects. In 1333 A.D. when Ibn Battuta visited India during the reign of Muhammadbin Tughalak, only at Delhi (when the capital was already transferred to Daulatabad) he found one thousand schools.[1] Firuz Tughlak opened a department of education which controlled and supervised all the educational institutions of the kingdom.[2] He is reported to have built about 50 colleges[3] His Firuz Shahi Madrasah was a residential college. It was accommodated in a superb and spacious mansion. Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, a celebrated educationist of the age, was its Principal.[4]

Bahlul Lodi is reported to have built some schools and colleges for the intellectual uplift of his subjects.[5]

Sikandar Lodi covered his kingdom with colleges and filled them with students and professors when he made Agra the capital of his Government. Men of learning from Arabia, Iran and Bokhara poured into it in increasing numbers. In the course of a few years Agra grew into a University, containing several schools and colleges.

He encouraged[6] the Hindu subjects to acquire the knowledge of Persian with a view to qualifying them for state services. Firishta, states "at most of the places where the Hindus bathed he built, waiting rooms, mosques, *Madrasahs*, markets and deputed Supervisors." After the conquest of the fort of Narwara in the territory of Malwa Sikander Lodi stayed there for six months with a view to constructing schools and Mosques on a great scale. He granted munificent stipends and scholarships both to the teachers and the students.

Strangely enough Babur,[7] who came to India and had very little knowledge of India when he came, made a very sweeping (compare

1 Ibn Battuta, 734 A.H. Def-et. sang, Vol., III.
2 Afif
3 Maathir Rahimi.
4 Tarikh Firuz-Shahi, p. 564.
5 Maathir Rahimi by Abdullah Baki.
6 Tarikh Daudi and Jahannuma.
7 Memoirs by Babur.

his statement with that of Ibn Batuta) statement and remarked that India lacked *Madrasahs* and *Maktabs*. Possibly it was due to his zeal for contrasting India with Samarkand and he was swayed by the sentiments of a foreigner. Any way we find him also building schools and colleges. He entrusted the work [1] of building schools and colleges to the Department of Shuhrat-e-Am (Public Works Department), Humayun also is known to have built some schools and *Madrasahs*.[2]

A farman of Akbar gives a positive proof of the fact that Muslim Sovereigns considered education as forming a part of state responsibility. The farman reads thus:—[3]

"As far as possible the knowledge in arts and sciences should be spread so that men of merit should not disappear from this world. Their contribution to posterity must survive."

He introduced a new system of primary education. Under the new method, the schools acquired, says Abul Fazl,[4] 'new form and the colleges became the centres of lights and culture. Abul Fazl's statement "Hindusthan is particularly famous for its seminaries" throws important light on the state of education at that time.[5] One of the Governors of Akbar opened numerous schools in Kashmir and appointed distinguished scholars as teachers. He endowed the *pargana* of Asyapure for defraying the expenses of maintaining the teachers and the students.[6]

In order to give an impetus to education, Jahangir enacted a law according to which all properties of those who died without heirs or were strangers in the country were escheated to the state and credited to the fund for the promotion of learning and maintaining khankahs.[7] All the Muslim schools and colleges which had been ruined were repaired and re-opened at the order of Jahangir. Shahjahan's interest in education can be judged from the fact that he instructed the officers of Jaunpur that scholars and students should regularly be paid allowances and news-writers should always communicate about every school and college.

1 Tarikh by Syed Makbir Ali.
2 Tadhkira by Janhar.
3 Mirat Ahmadi.
4 Ain-Akbari, p. 201.
5 *Ibid.*
6 Maathir Rahimi.
7 Tuzuk-e-Jehangiri.

All new institutions received Government aid and Government officials and Royal officers visited these educational institutions during their visit to Jaunpur.[1]

Another farman,[2] on behalf of Aurangzeb calls upon the diwan of Gujrat to appoint every year the teachers at the cost of the state, and to pay stipends to the students according to the recommendation of the Sadr of the province and the attestation (*Tasdik*) of the teacher. The money was to be paid out of the public treasury. "In all towns and villages throughout his extensive kingdom he appointed scholars and teachers and granted fitting allowance, paid daily or in form of property. For the students of all sciences he fixed stipends which were necessary for their maintenance.[3]

Aurangzeb was not satisfied with the curriculum of education. It was not up to his mark. He did not like that too much importance should be given to Arabic. How far he succeeded in giving effect to his ideas we do not know. We know only this much that according to his conception it was incumbent upon the preceptor to acquaint the pupil with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth, its resources and strength, its mode of warfare, its manners, religion, form of Government and wherein its interests principally consist. The teacher was expected to familiarise the student with the origin of states, their progress and decline, the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected The theory and science of warfare were other necessary subjects to be taught.[4]

Provincial Governments and other Independent Muslim States of India

So far we have spoken about the central Government of pre-Timurid and Timurid periods, we may make passing references to the provincial Governments and other Muslim dynasties ruling independently in other parts of India. Gujrat was one of the most richly endowed provinces of India in educational institutions. Sultan Mahmud Pagra [6] set up numerous *Madrasahs* for the students. The

1 Jamejehan-numa.
2 Mirat Ahmadi.
3 Maathir Alamgiri.
4 Bernier's Travels (constable), pp. 151-161.
5 Mirat Ahmadi.

Sultan of Multan took great personal interest in education. We may mention the name of Husian Shah Lanka. He was a great patron of Science and Arts. He always came forward with generous pensions and grants for meritorious and learned men. He started numerous educational institutions, and placed them under noted scholars of the age. Next comes Malwa. Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa [2] took a great interest in education. He founded innumerable schools, and colleges, throughout his kingdom and sought the services of celebrated scholars. His interest in education and patronage of learning made Malwa a centre of learning and it acquired the name of second Yunan or Hellas. "He granted stipends and allowances to the students and during his reign his kingdom became a rival of Shiraz and Samarkand, the noted seats of learning outside India.

During his campaign against Chitor [1] he built many schools and mosques in that territory. After returning from the expedition he built a big college just in front of the Hushang Shahi Jumma Mosque. His son and successor Sultan Ghyathuddin took great interest in education and particularly in female education. We will deal with him in detail later on, while discussing female education.

From the North we now go to the South. The Bahmanids were in no way lesss interested in education than their contemporary sovereigns in the north.

Mahmud Gawan, the celebrated Bahmanid Vizir, built schools and hostels for students. The students received tuition, board and lodging free.[3]

His big library of valuable and rare books on all subjects was open to the public. His great *Madrasah* was unrivalled throughout India.

Ibrahim Kutub Shah of Golconda built many schools.[4] Muhammad Kuli Kutub Shah took several measures to promote learning and he built numerous schools and colleges throughout his dominion. The well known traveller Thernot also speaks very highly of the Charminar college which was built by this sovereign. Shyral points out that this Sultan opened innumerable primary schools. The students in these schools sat on benches and wrote with a quill pen on Chinese paper.

1 Firishta.
2 Firishta and Maathir Rahimi, Vol. I.
3 Firishta.
4 Athare Khair.

Mahmud Shah, the Bahmanid king, set up orphanage schools throughout his dominion and entrusted the charge to efficient and learned officers. The expenses were borne by the state. The principal towns and cities where these orphanages were opened were Gulbarga, Bihar, Kandhara, Illichpur, Doulatabad, Chaul, Wahal, Junair.[1]

Muhammad Adil Shah had opened many primary schools and two big colleges one for Arabic and the other for Persian. The students there got one hundred coins (not named) monthly as their pocket expenses. In every year in the month of Zilhijjah the examinations were held and prizes distributed among the successful students. All the big mosques of the kingdom had colleges attached to them and the expenses were borne by the state. The state recruited its employees from among those who passed from these institutions.[2]

We may close this discussion with a few words about the zeal displayed by the rulers of the dismembered parts of the Timurid Empire in the 19th Century. In Ruhilkhand Hafiz Rahmat Khan[3] had engaged many distinguished teachers and servants who taught and controlled the numerous *Madrasahs* started and maintained by the Nawwab. In schools the students received stipends and the text books were given to them *gratis*. The Nawwab had built a big *madrasah* at Pilibhit and the graduates of this college received the diploma personally from the hands of the Nawwab himself (as from a Chancellor to-day on the day of Convocation).

The last representative of Muslim culture in northern India was Oudh. Throughout the entire territories of Oudh and Allahabad provinces in villages and towns and at every 10 or 20 miles there were educational institutions and schools.[4] They were all maintained by the states or by some officials or noblemen.

Now we may deal with primary education. The boys and girls used to begin their studies in primary schools after attaining the age of 4 years 4 months and 4 days.[5]

Primary Schools and its Method of Education

It will be very interesting to know how the children were taught in the primary schools. We will do well to refer to the Ain-i-Akbari

1 Firishta.
2 Athare-Khair.
3 Gule Rahmat.
4 Maathir-ul Karam by Ghulamali Azad.
5 Humayun nama by Gulbadan Begum.

where the historian reports that the Emperor Akbar improved upon the method of teaching in the primary schools.[1] The boys were first taught to read the letter of the Persian alphabet separately with the different accents or marks of punctuation. His Majesty had ordered that as soon as the students acquired a perfect knowledge of the alphabet, which was generally acquired within two days, the boys were to practise combination of two letters. After they had learnt that for a week they were given a short line of prose or verse containing a religious or moral idea wherein those combinations continually occurred. The stress was given upon their reading these lines independently. The teacher assisted only occasionally. For some days the teacher proceeded with teaching a new hemistich and the students were generally found to have learnt reading with some fluency. The teachers used to give the students four exercises daily, *viz.*, the alphabet, the combinations, a new hemistich, or distich and repetition of what he had read before. "By this method what had to take a year' " remarks Abul Fazl, " was accomplished within a few months to the astonishment of every one."

The students used to sit cross legged on floor or on benches with books in their hands and learnt lessons from their teachers who used to sit on pulpits or stand before their pupils dispensing instructions in various arts and sciences. In the elementary schools the children learnt to write with reed pens or with tubes of some other kinds on *takhtis* which could be wasl ed clean at the close of the lesson.[2]

This system may have been improved but we do not know. We only know this much that its surviving form down to the advent of the English in India, was so very scientific that one Reverend Dr. Bell introduced it in England and the introduction of Indian primary education system, was considered to be highly scientific and beneficial to English national education.[3]

Consequently literacy in Muslim India was much higher than what we find now. Historian Laidlaw writes in his history of British India that down to his own time in all such villages where old

[1] Ain-e-Akbari, Vol. I. Book 2, under the head "principle of teaching," p. 201. This mode of teaching appears to have existed even during the Khiliji period, *cf.* Nuh-Sipihar of Amir Khusru. Buhar Lib. MS. No. 315.

[2] Hindusthan in Miniature by Shobaul, Vol. IV, pp. 215-16. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV, p. 408.

[3] Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of East India Company, Vol. I, p. 409. publish- ed in 1832.

administration existed, children generally knew to read and write and could do simpler[1] sums of elementary arithmetic.

Books Prescribed

No detailed account is available about the books prescribed for primary schools. This much we learn from *Maadanul Maani*[2] that boys were asked to memorise a booklet on *Masadir* and *Miftahul Lughat*—a word-book.

Secondary Schools

The educational institutions which may be said to represent our Secondary Schools, had Persian as medium of instruction. It will be interesting to discuss the syllabus and curriculum recommended for their use. We get an idea from "*Khulsatul Maktabi*," a book written by a Hindu writer in 1100 A. H. The subjects which were taught at least at this period were literature, composition, poetry, fiction, history and ethics. The books recommended for each head are as follow:—

1. Prose and composition:—*Inshai-i-Yusufi*, *Marqumat* of Mulla Jami and of Mulla Munir, *Maktubat-i-Abul Fazl Guldasta-i-Sheikh* Enayutullah (Secretary to Shah-jehan) *Bahar-e-Sukhan* of Muhammad Saleh, *Karnamai Lalchand*, *Rukkat Alamgiri*, *Manshat* of Shaida and Mulla Tughra, *Lailawati*, translated by Sheikh Faizi.

2. Poetry:—*Yusuf-Zulaikha*, *Tuhfatul Ahrar*, *Nuskhatul Abrar* of Mulla Jami, *Sikandarnama*, *Makhzane Israr*, *Haft Paiker*, *Shirin Khusuru*, *Laila Majnuun* of Nizami, *Qiranus Saadain*, *Matlaul Anwar* and *Ijaz Khusrawi*. Besides these *diwans* of Shams Tabriz, Zahir Faryabi, Saadi, Badarchach, Faizi, Saib and Hafiz; and *Qasidas* of Anwari, Khakani and Urfi.

3. Fiction:—*Tutinamai Bakhshi*, *Anwar Suhaili* of Mulla Husain Waiz Kashfi, *Ayyar Danish* of Sheikh Abul Fazl *Bahardanish* of Sheikh Enayatullah, the translation of *Mahabharat*,:.

4. History:—*Shahnama* of Firdausi, *Zafarnama* of Sharfuddin Ali, *Tarik-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Akbarnama*, *Iqbalnamai Jehangiri*.

5. Ethics:—*Akhlak Nasri*, *Akhlak-Jalali*, the letters of Syed Shah Sarfuddin Ahmad Yahya Muneri, *Nuzhatul Arwah*, *Mathnavi* of Rumi and *Hadika* of Sanai.

[1] India, B. K. Hardie, (Hardy ?).
[2] Maadanul Maani, Pt. I., p. 43.

Education in Colleges

Now we may turn to higher education in the *Madrasahs* which may be regarded equivalent to our collegiate standard.

Method of Education in Colleges

Here Arabic was the medium of instruction throughout Muslim India. The method of teaching in this stage is unknown to us. We could glean a little from an extract of the *Wasiatnama* of Shah Waliullah the famous *Muhaddis* of Delhi. There, the author discribes his own experiences as a teacher and recommends them as an expert. The following is a literal translation of a portion of the same *Wasiatnama*.

" The tried method of teaching is that the small tracts of *Sarf* (etymology) and *Nahv* (syntax) should be read first. According to the capacity of the student three or four different books on these subjects should be studied. Afterwards a book of history or political science which may be in Arabic should be studied and a dictionary should be consulted all the while.

Then the *Koran* should be studied with the help of translation or commentary and all complicated points about *Nahv* or the occasion of the revelation should be fully discussed and cleared out. Next recourse should be taken to the prescribed portion of *Jalalain*. After completing the course, the daily routine should be divided into two parts. In the first part of the day books on *Hadith* like *Sahihain*, books on Jurisprudence, Theology and Mysticism should be read. In the other parts of the day, Logic and Philosophy should be studied. If possible *Mishkat* should also be revised once a week. Our knowledge of the syllabus of studies is very meagre. Maulana Abdul Hai, the principal of the *Nadwatul ulema* had taken considerable pains to unearth materials and reconstruct them after going through the historical and literary records of the medieval period of Indian history.[1]

(To be continued)

[1] Barni's Tarikh-Firuz Shahi, Muntakhabul-Tawarikh, Vol. III. Mir Khurd's Siyarul Anliya and *mujmua*—some of treatises by a Naiti Scholar preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, contain useful information on this point.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF MOHAN LAL KASHMERIAN

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I

1. INTRODUCTION

MOHAN Lal, the traveller, author and diplomatist, was probably the first Kashmiri Pandit to receive English Education, to visit Central Asia and Europe, and to educate his daughter in England. Through all his wanderings, he won the approbation of all his companions for "displaying everywhere a rare union of zeal, tact and fidelity."[1] He spoke "English with a good accent and much idiomatic propriety."[2] He was an author of no mean repute. On his return from Central Asia to India in 1834, he "published a journal of his tour, which, considered as the work of an Asiatic in a foreign tongue, may be reckoned a most creditable production."[3] Twelve years later, this work was again printed with minor changes here and there and with an additional account of his journey across Sind and Afghanistan and visit to Europe. At the same time he published his Life of Dost Muhammad Khan, the Amir of Kabul, in two volumes which is an exhaustive treatise on the affairs in Afghanistan in the first half of the 19th century. About his style of English the Editor of the Calcutta Englishman remarks:—

"He expresses himself with perfect clearness and intelligibility in English, though not with very idiomatic correctness."[4]

His numerous letters, about 400 of which have been discovered in the manuscript form in the Record Offices of the Government of the Punjab and India, display an easy style of English with ingredients of Persian for seasoning. He had a command of language and a felicitous touch in sketching an incident or a character. We feel in reading these letters that here is a man whose aim is truth rather than effect while giving counsel to his superiors on events and tendencies which affected

1. Havelock's Narrative of the War in Afghanistan, 150.
2. *Ibid*, 149
3. *Ibid*, 150.
4. Quoted in Vincent Eyre's Journal, Appendix E, p. 412.

the grave issues of peace and war and the lives of thousands of human beings.

During the first Afghan War he displayed the remarkable qualities of a great diplomatist. His charm, his tact, his patience, his lucid intelligence, his incredible grasp of detail, and his clear understanding of the Afghan character combined to give him an equipment, which was not found to that degree even in those officers who were in charge of the diplomatic affairs in that country. It was a child's play for him to win over the opponents and to turn them against their own country and people. Kaye in his History of the War in Afghanistan, Vol. i, p. 459 says:—

"The Moonshee seems to have been endowed with a genius for traitor-making, the lustre of which remained undimmed to the very end of the War." He calls him a "charmer". Farther on page 478, the same writer, while describing the entry of the British forces in Kabul says:—"And Moonshee Mohan Lal, flaunting a majestic turban, and looking, in his spruceness, not at all as though his mission in Afghanistan were to do the dirty work of the British diplomatists, made a very conspicuous figure in the gay cavalcade". He received encomium not only from the British officers in Afghanistan, but also his name was frequently mentioned in the despatches of the Governor-General of India to the Directors of the East India Company.

2. His Personality

Before we look into the deeds and achievements of Mohan Lal so far as is possible within the scope of this paper, it will be well to bear in mind that he was a typical representative of his race. In figure he was tall, extraordinarily handsome with classically regular features and a polished bearing.

He possessed a sunny, sweet and delightful disposition and scattered sunshine and good cheer everywhere by giving a kind word and throwing a pleasant smile to every one. Few of those thrown into his company ever found it possible to resist his infectious and merry charm. It was not so much that he was extraordinarily witty in company, but he created an easy and pleasant atmosphere, in the midst of which every companion thought and talked with spontaniety and enjoyment.

Another quality in his complex personality which may be singled

out for note was that intuition, subtlety and divination which enabled him with clarity of vision to peer into the minds of men who spoke and corresponded with him. He was cool and courageous. He was never so happy and so resourceful as when he was in the middle of a hurricane. His fierce and restless energy and industry were a great asset in his character. When required, he could work day and night with enthusiasm and even with relish.

He loved beauty wherever he met with it, that is why he was at home with literary men in the library, with sportsmen at the covert side and with poets in moonlit gardens. He loved with old-world charm of roses and lilies, birds and green boughs. He wanted to enjoy life and was never tired of more festivities, more songs, more wine, and to sit long and late with fair ladies.

He was an adept in the art of pleasing. His personality always attracted, never repelled. There was a heartiness in his expression, in the smile, in the handshake and in the cordiality.

But, first and last, he was only an astute adventurer!

3. His Parentage and Education

Mohan Lal was born in 1812 at Delhi. His grandfather Raja Mani Ram enjoyed a high rank with a considerable estate at the Mughal Court. The lands granted to him by the Delhi Emperor produced an income of Rs. 14,000 yearly. During the time of Mohan Lal's father, Pandit Budh Singh, the family was deprived of its lands, and they were reduced to straightened circumstances, so much so that their houses were also sold by their creditors.

In this predicament, Pandit Budh Singh sought service, though temporarily, under Mountstuart Elphinstone, in the capacity of Munshi or Persian Secretary in 1808. Mohan Lal was thus brought up in the midst of poor circumstances.

In 1827, the British Government opened an English class in the Persian College at Delhi. Pandit Budh Singh who had been to Calcutta and there had seen the advantages of English education, admitted his son Mohan Lal who had already acquired proficiency in Persian Language through his private schooling at home, and who displayed an aptitude for learning, was admitted into this class.

Mohan Lal and Shahamat Ali were the first students to join this class. Mohan Lal made a deep impression on the minds of all those

with whom he came into contact. Mr. Trevelyan, a member of the Managing Committee of this College speaks of Mohan Lal in these words:—

He "pursued his studies here for upwards of two years, during which he was principally distinguished for his amiable and gentle disposition, and unassuming deportment. Ram Krishan always kept somewhat in advance of him in the intellectual race, but none made such an impression upon the hearts of all acquainted with him as Mohan Lal. Other students might command in a greater degree the respect of visitors to the college, but Mohan Lal won their affections, and the natural grace of his simple and unaffected manners made him an universal favourite." [1]

4. Engaged as Munshi to Alexander Burnes

At this period when Mohan Lal was pursuing his studies, there arrived at Delhi Mr. Fitzgerald of the Civil Service in the capacity of Secretary in the Delhi Residency. One day he visited the College and Mohan Lal's "congeniality of disposition" drew the visitor's attention towards himself and consequently they soon became "frequent associates." On Sunday, the 18th December, 1831, Mohan Lal paid a visit to Mr. Fitzgerald and there met Alexander Burnes, Assistant Resident in Cutch for the first time. The latter was then about to undertake a journey through Central Asia and on meeting Mohan Lal, "became sensible of his peculiar qualifications." He at once proposed to him to accompany him to Turkistan as his "Persian Munshi" and this offer was immediately accepted by him.

5. Mohan Lal sets out on his Journey

Mohan Lal left Delhi on the 21st December, 1831, and reached Lahore on the 17th January, 1832. The Maharaja granted them an interview on the 18th, which is thus described by Mohan Lal:—"By the desire of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, we paid a visit to His Highness in the afternoon in a garden near the 'Dargah' of Shah Belaval. In such a fine tent he held his 'Darbar' as if it was the tent of an angel

[1] Journal, Trevelyan's *Memoir*, XI, XII.

and not of man. Ranjit Singh came a few paces forward to receive us, he then placed Mr. Burnes and Dr. Gerard on golden chairs, and talked for two hours with them in great friendship. He is a good chief; he asked my name, and Mr. Burnes told him that I was a very clever lad, and knew English, which I had learnt at the Delhi College; he also conferred many favours on me, and gave me a sum of money which Mr. Burnes allowed me to keep." [1]

The party left Lahore on the 11th February and halted at Shahdara for the night. Here all of them dressed themselves as Afghans and left their extra baggage behind. At Rawalpindi they further reduced their baggage, keeping only two mule-loads. In order to pretend to be real Afghans they changed their names also. Burnes called himself Sikandar Khan and Mohan Lal was named Hasan Jan. They had so well succeeded in their new disguise that the people could not recoguise Burnes and Gerard as Europeans, though through the rumour they knew that two Europeans were going abroad across the frontier. At Hasan Abdal a Sikh lad held the reins of Mohan Lal's horse asking him to point out which members of the party were the 'Sahib log.'

6. Observations about Kabul

The stories which Mohan Lal tells of the foreign countries and people are very amusing. The party reached Kabul on the 1st May, where they remained the guests of Nawab Jubbar Khan. The following day on the 2nd of May, Mohan Lal met Mr. J. Wolff, a missionary, who had travelled into Khorasan and Turkistan. During his travels he had suffered much. At one place he was made a slave and at another he was deprived of all his money and clothes. He had lost his horse in the deep snows of the Hindukush " and was compelled to walk naked into Kabul like the faqirs of India." He treated Mohan Lal kindly, gave him a certificate, and promised to recommend him " to his relation Lady W. Bentick in Calcutta."

Mohan Lal observed that Kabul was inhabited by three peoples, Sunnis, Shias and Hindus. The Hindus numbered nearly 2,000. They had large families and were " allowed to keep all the privileges of their religion." The Shias, also known as Qizalbash, numbered about 5,000

[1] Journal, 10; Travels, 11-12.

and lived in a separate walled quarter called Murad Khani. About the people Mohan Lal remarks:—

"The people do not possess good features, and are fond of pleasure. They drink clandestinely and rove in search of women. The females both of high and low family avoid the choice of virtue, and pursue bad principles. The proverbial saying which follows and continues among the natives, confirms my explanation regarding the sex above mentioned:

آرد پشاور بے جوار نیست * و زن کابل بے یار نیست

("The flour of Peshawar is not without the mixture of barley, and the women of Kabul are not without lovers").

7. Slave Market at Khulum

At Khulum he visited the slave market. He found 19 women and 7 boys, eight or nine years of age and some old men of 50 or more placed for sale. The little boys were crying "او مہجور بابا" [O' separated father], and every limb of the girls' body was exposed for the examination of the intended buyer. One pretty girl was sold in Mohan Lal's presence for Rs. 310.

8. A Uzbeg Officer Tries to Debauch Mohanlal

At Mazār they put up in the same place where Mr. Trebeck had died of fever. At Balkh a Uzbeg officer of the custom house was so much fascinated by the blooming youth of Mohan Lal, then only 20 years of age, that he tried to seduce him. Mohan Lal thus describes the incident: "He looked at me, with an aspiring eye, and sent a message by the Qafila Bashi to me, saying, if I stopped at Balkh in his office, he would be happy to give me a salary of 400 rupees per month, but I civilly refused him. At evening he came himself to the sarae on horseback, and sat near my lodgings. First he made me the compliment of Daulat Ziad, a respect paid to Hindus in this country. Then he called and gave me a piece of paper, which contained two or three persian verses. The first of them was the following:

کر بر سر چشم من نشینی * نازت بکشم کہ نابینی

(If you sit on my head and eyes, I will bear you pleasantly because you are agreeable). I stood up immediately and did not speak with him at all though he often told me to sit. "

9. At Bokhara

They arrived at Bokhara on the 27th June. Mohan Lal's observations about this place are very interesting. Some Muslims were daily scourged in the public for sleeping after sunrise and missing their morning prayer. The people were chastised for smoking, snuffing and drinking. There was a quarter of Jews who numbered about 30,000. The people sought the company of boys whether " handsome or ugly." "The boys are surrounded by the Uzbegs to the same excess as sugar is by flies ". Certain restrictions were imposed on Hindus and Jews. They could not ride on horseback, and could tie neither cloth nor shawl round their waist. They were frequently abused by the Uzbegs, but they were not reduced to slavery as none bought them, because they were considered " base and unpurified ". Every Hindu had to pay a poll tax of half a rupee. All non-Muslims were obliged to wear a black cap and a rope round the waist. " Captain Burnes and Mr. Gerard," says Mohan Lal, " suffered the same restraint as I did which to them must prove very troublesome. I was surprised to see them walking on foot in the hottest day to feast their eyes with curiosity, while the gentlemen in India never move a span without calling, 'Bara chhatta lao.' A thief was sentenced either to be thrown from a parapet on the hard ground, or cast in a dark dungeon. At dusk a drum was beaten, and all bussiness was suspended and no body could stir out.

10. Alexander Burnes's Remarks

The party left Bokhara on the 21st July. At this stage Alexander Burnes, the leader of the expedition speaks of Mohan Lal thus:— " Our party had considerably diminished since I last described it on the Indus ; one of the Indians had retraced his steps from Cabool, and the chilling blasts of Hindoo Koosh had frightened the doctor's servant, who was a native of Cashmere. Otherwise we had to bear the most ample testimony to the patience and perseverance of those we had choosen. Of these the most remarkable was Mohun Lall, who exibited a buoyancy of spirit and interest in the undertaking most

rare in an Indian. At my request he kept a minute journal of events ; and I venture to believe, if hereafter published, that it will arrest and deserve attention. On his route to Bokhara his tale had run, that he was proceeding to his friends in that country, and as we had passed that city, he was now joining his relatives at Herat." [1]

11. The Land of Turkmans

On their way from Bokhara to Meshed they passed through Khorasan the land of Turkmans who employed their time in cattle rearing and capturing slaves. At Sarakhs, a village where they were on the 4th September, they saw 3,000 Turkman tents, 50 Jews, one Hindu, 1,500 Qizalbash slaves and 1,000 slave-girls. It was at this place that Mr. J. Wolff was taken as slave, but was released after two days, not being considered of much value. They were still here when on the 9th September a party of Turkmans of this place brought 115 slaves from the territory of Mashad. On this very day, Burnes's pony was stolen in the night.

12. Departure of Alexander Burnes for England

They reached Mashad on the 14th September and stayed as guests of Mrs. Shee, an Armenian lady, who after the death of her Muslim husband had embraced Christianity and married Captain Shee, a British Officer of the Madras Establishment, then busy at Qochan in the battle-field.

On the 29th September, Alexander Burnes, having accomplished the main object of his journey, bade farewell to the other members of the party and left for the shores of the Caspean Sea on his route to England. He granted the following certificate to Mohan Lal :—

" Mohan Lal a native of Delhi and of a respectable Cashmeera family in that city accompanied me from India to Bokhara and Persia when I travelled into these countries with Dr. Gerard in 1832. He has had the advantage of being educated at the Delhi institution and with high natural talents, he combines a respectable knowledge of the English language and considerable acquirements for an Indian. He is a young man of great promise and bids fair to distinguish himself

[1] Burnes's Travels into Bokhara, i, 347 .

among his countrymen. Mohen Lall served with me in the capacity of Persian Moonshee, his caste as a Hindoo subjected him to numerous difficulties and inconveniences among the Mohamedans, but his conduct was that of the most conciliatory, faithful and trustworthy description. With great opportunities for intrigues he shunned them and by his mild and unassuming behaviour relieved me from vexations which almost any other native would have involved me. Throughout the journey he has kept a journal in English which will bear better testimony to his abilities and merits than anything which I can add. I have forwarded it to the Governor-General. I shall consider it most incumbent on me when I return to India to urge to Government the merits of so deserving a young man under a conviction that he will merit a permanent situation. As a private individual, I am giving this testimonial. I pledge myself to use my utmost exertion in his behalf and I do so, with a confidence that he will not be found wanting in whatever capacity he may be employed."

MESHID IN KHORASAN,
24th September, 1832.

13. MOHAN LAL ATTENDS THE DARBAR

At Meshed the Prince Royal of Persia Abbas Mirza, the ruler of the place, held a court on the day of the 'Id festival and invited Mohan Lal to attend it. When the first ceremonies were over, and the nobles after presenting their offerings, had retired to their respective places in the darbar, His Royal Highness turned towards Mohan Lal, who writes: "When I entered the door, which was 40 paces far from his seat, I bowed to H.R.H. and he called me saying, 'come, Indian Mirza, a little nearer'. At last I stopped in three places, and made him bows, till I reached the rails, where he sat in princely dress. He said, 'O Mirza, Khush amdi' or you are welcome and asked me, whether I was a Sunni or Shia, and what was my name. 'I am the friend of Panjtan, or five persons', was my reply. Abbas Mirza was highly glad to hear this. He was pleased very much with my conversation, when I explained to him the sketch of the battle of Waterloo, which he put before me."

1. Punjab Government MS. Records, Book No. 140, Letter No. 20.

In the course of long conversation which I refrain from quoting here, the Prince enquired "whether Ranjit Singh's court could vie in magnificence with what he now saw before him, or whether the Sikh army could compare in discipline and courage with His Highness's Sirbaz, (Persian regular troops were so called). To this Mohan Lal modestly, yet firmly replied, that Maharajah Ranjit Singh's darbar tent was made of Kashmir shawls, and that even the floor was composed of the same costly material, and for his army, if Sardar Hari Singh (Ranjit Singh's commander-in-chief) were to cross the Indus, His Highness would soon be glad to make good his retreat to his original government of Tabriz. The terms in which this reply was conceived, and the tone of voice in which it was delivered, were so indicative of good nature, that the idea of any impropriety having been committed never so much as occurred to anybody, yet the free expression of sentiment was a thing so unheard of at the Persian Court, that the entire audience stood waiting in silent expectation for His Highness's reply. This was not long delayed ; and as nearly as the recollections of our informant serves it was as follows:— 'Wonderful, wonderful ! said Abbas Mirza drawing the attention of the Court towards Mohan Lal, 'See the effect of English education'! and after a short pause he continued, "How inscrutable are the decrees of providence, which he conferred so much power on a Kafar (infidel), but if Ali, the Lion of God favour us, we will yet plant our standard in Kashmir and put all our sirbaz in shawl pantaloons." On his departure foom Mashad, Mohan Lal was distinguished by his Royal Highness by the gift of a gold medal of the Order of the Lion and the Sun.

14. Accompanies the Army of the Indus

The British Government decided to send an army across the Indus and to place Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk on the throne of Kabul. Lord Auckland invited Mohan Lal at Simla "to his residence, and after a long conversation regarding the affairs of Afghanistan, and inquiries about the supplies of cattle and grain" made him the bearer of letters to the Lohani chiefs .

At Ludhiana he joined Sir Alexander Burnes and accompanied him as far as Bahawalpur. Then Mohan Lal went to Multan and Sir Alexander to Khairpur. Mohan Lal induced bankers to send

money to Shikarpur, and made an agreement with the Lohanis to supply the Government with camels and provisions.

15. Wins over the Mir of Khairpur

Afterwards he rejoined Burnes at Khairpur where he had been busy in negotiations in forming an offensive and defensive treaty with the Mir. Burnes failed in this undertaking and he came to Shikarpur. From this place he deputed Mohan Lal to secure the signature and the seal of Mir Rustam Khan of Khairpur on the treaty. Mohan Lal held a few interviews and conferences and succeeded not only in getting the treaty sealed and signed but also in securing the fort of Bakkar for the stores of the army. Lord Auckland in a letter to Mir Rustam Khan dated Bhagasar, January 10, 1839, says in the conclusion:—"I address you this friendly letter as a lasting assurance of the plain meaning and purpose of the words of the separate article, namely, that the British shall avail themselves of the fort of Bakkar, the citadel of their ally the Mir of Khairpur, only during actual and periods of preparing for war, like the present." On this Mohan Lal remarks:—"Not only kept the fort for ever, but the whole dominion afterwards conquered and the Mir banished." Further on he says:—

"The contents of the former documents afford a fearful lesson to every human being, and inculcate that if men in power are at one time flattered, respected, and assured of perpetual friendship, they ought neither rely upon those assurances, nor be forgetful of the adversity of their fortunes which is to follow them."[1]

By this time Shah Shuja and the Commander-in-Chief had reached Subzalkot on the northern frontier of Sind. Burnes and Mohan Lal waited at this place upon these eminent personalities. The supplies collected by him met the demand of the commissariat officers. Mohan Lal was again sent to Khairpur to prevail upon the Mir to allow the British engineers to throw a bridge across the Indus at Rohri. This proposal was agreed to by Mir Rustam, in spite of the opposition of his brother Ali Murad, in the presence of Major Leech.[2]

[1] Life of Dost Mohammad, ii. 178 and 180-81.

[2] When Mohan Lal paid a visit to Poona in 1844 on his way to England, the Governor gave him permission to see Mir Rustam. He writes:—"I felt so ashamed to shew my face to him, remembering the good services which as a faithful ally, he had rendered to the British Government, and the promises I gave him, pledging the British honour and name to see his perpetual dignity : nd territorial emoluments that I did not go to see that unfortunate and unjustly ruined monarch."

16. Mohan Lal Secures Easy Capture of Ghazni

Ghazni offered stout resistance to the British arms. Mohan Lal soon won over a big chief with whose assistance the fort of Ghazni was soon captured. The story is thus briefly narrated by Kay in his History of the War in Afghanistan, Vol i, pp. 459-60.

"The gate to be blown in was the Caubul gate. All the others had been built up. The military historians leave it to be surmised by the reader that the knowledge of this important fact was derived from the reconnaissance of the British Commander and his engineers. The truth is, that the British had then in their camp a deserter from the Ghuznee garrison—a Barukzye of rank, who had been induced to turn his traitorous back upon his tribe. Abdool Reshed Khan was the nephew of Dost Mohamed. When the 'commercial mission' was in Afghanistan, Mohan Lal had made the acquaintance of this man. The Moonshee seems to have been endowed with a genius for traitor-making, the lustre of which remained undimmed to the very end of the war. He now began to operate upon his friend; and he achieved a brilliant success. Ab lool Reshed was not deaf to the voice of the charmer. Mohan Lal wrote him a seductive letter, and he determined to desert. As the British army approached Ghuznee he joined our camp. 'I introduced him,' says Mohan Lal, 'to the envoy, who placed him under the immediate disposal of Lord Keane. The information which he gave to Major Thomson, the chief engineer, relative to the fortifications of Ghuznee, was so valuable and necessary, that my friend Abdool Reshed Khan was requested to attend upon him in all his reconnoitring expeditions. He was precisely the man we wanted. He gave us all the information we required. He taught us how to capture Ghuznee."

The army reached Kabul on the 7th August, 1839. Henry Havelock in his narrative of the War in Afghanistan thus speaks of Mohan Lal at the time of their entry into Kabul: "Let me not forget to record that Moonshee Mohun Lall, a traveller and an author, as well as his talented master, appeared on horseback on this occasion in a new upper garment of very gay colours, and under a turban of very admirable fold and majestic dimensions, and was one of the gayest as well as the most sagacious and successful personages in the whole cortage."

(To be continued)

SARKHWUSH: A DISTINGUISHED SCHOLAR AND POET (1640-1715)

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MUHAMMAD AFDAL, BETTER KNOWN BY HIS NOM-DE-PLUME

Sarkhwush, was born in Kasmīr during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān in A.H. 1050/A.D. 1640.

The phrase افضلِ اهلِ زمانه (Afḍal-i-Ahl-i-Zamāna), *i.e.*, the most excellent of the men of (his) time, forms the chronogram of the date of his birth. He was the second son of Muḥammad Zāhid, who was attached to the service of 'Abdullah Khān Zākhmī, after whose death, all the sons of Zahid entered the service of the emperor.

Sarkhwush was a Mughal by birth. His grandfather, Mīr Lāl Beg, was a native of Badukhshān. According to his own statement he was a born servant of 'Ālamgīr and had spent his youth in eager pursuit of rank and office and finally settled down to private life in Shāh Jahānabad (Delhi), as he says:—

محمد افضل سر خوش، از خانه‌زادان شاه عالمگیر است - یک چند در عالم جوانی درپے دولت و دنیا تلاش منصب و جاه، سر گرانی بسیار کشید - آخر بتوفیق الله در شاه جهان آباد گوشهٔ عزلت اختیار نموده خدمت درویشان را سرمایهٔ سعادت دانست [1]

Here he built a house at Chawk Sadulla Khān. Khwushgu, a pupil of Sarkhwush, writes that the shutters of the door of the house bore an inscription which could be read up to the days of the writer. The inscription was this:—

اگر بنای دربار ست و اگر بنای حق بی نیاز است، بدریافت حقائق و دقائق تصرف و توجّه تمام داشت

[1] Kalimāt-ush-Shuarā. (The State Library, Rampur, MS. A. f. 66.)

'Whether this is a court edifice or an edifice meant for independent God, (he, *i.e.*, the builder) was given to ascertaining in full (divine) truths & subtleties.'

Details of his early life are not available. We do not get much material regarding his educational career, save and except the name of his teachers. The names of his father and grandfather have been mentioned above. It appears that Sarkhwush was a married man. He mentions Md. Hāshim, a poet and calligraphist, as his father-in-law. He mentions اکمل محمد افضل (Akmal-i-Muḥammad Afḍal) as the chronogram for the year of his son's birth and he also mentions Asadullah as his brother's son, the chronogram of whose birth he gives as شیرِ خدا (Shir-i-Khudā).

The 'Kalimāt-ush-Shuara' throws some light on the extent of his knowledge. He calls himself a pupil of Munim-i-Ḥakkāk of Shiraz,[1] Shaykh Md. 'Ali Māhir of Akbarabad[2] and Mirzā Ṣāi'b of Tabrez.[3] Some regard Mīr Muiz (also known as Musawi Khān Fiṭrat) amongst his teachers.[4] It is true that Sarkhwush was very much *benefited* by the company of the latter. He freely enjoyed the society of his contemporaries and was held in high respect by them.

Sher Khān Lodi, the author of the Miratul Khayāl, was a contemporary of Sarkhwush. Sarkhwush calls Nāsir 'Ali of Sirhind[5] an old friend of his. Mirzā Bedil[6] was also a companion of our poet.

Khwushgu, the author of the 'Ṣafina-i-Khwushgu was a pupil of Sarkhwush who bestowed upon him this title[7] by which he is generally known. Sadullah Gulshan, Bigham Birāgī, and Ḥāfiẓ Md. Jamāl, who are mentioned in the Tadhkirah as poets of fame, were amongst the pupils of Sarkhwush.

Sarkhwush was a scholar and poet of eminence. He was of the Ṣūfī bent of mind. His verses bear eloquent testimony to this fact.

ندانم از کجا گیرم سراغ جلوه گاہ او

کہ در صد دل برد چون رشتۂ تسبیح راہ او

[1] Kalimāt-ush-Shuarā. MS. No. A. f. 154.
[2] *Ibid*, f. 147.
[3] *Ibid*, f. 84.
[4] Sarwī-Āzad p 143
[5] Kalimāt-ush-Shuarā MS. No. B. f. 102.
[6] *Ibid*, MS. No. A. f. 120.
[7] O. P. Library, Bankipur, MS. No. 690, 153b.

گہے بہ کعبہ و گہہ در کنشت میجوئي

بخود بجوي چہ در سنگ و خشت میجوئی

بمرگ از دستِ تشویش جہان، داریم آرامی

رگِ خوابِ فراغت سر گشتہ ہر تارِ کفن ما را

چنان بگداخت شرم جلوۂ حسن تو گلشن را

کہ میگردد رگِ گل، ہمچو حسن، بروی آب اینجا

دین و دنیا خورد برہم تا کہ ما پیدا شدیم

از میانِ این دو کف، ہمچون صدا، پیدا شدیم

I know not how to get a clue to his splendour;
His way lies through a hundred hearts—the string of beads.
Sometimes you seek Him in Kaba, sometimes in temple;
Seek Him within yourself, why in stone and brick?
Through death I am at rest from time and anxiety's hand;
Every thread of the winding-sheet has turned into the vein of the slumber of repose.
The bashfulness of thy beauty's splendour melted the garden in such a way,
That the rose-petal is seen like 'beauty' over the face of the water here.
Both the worlds dashed against each other so that we were born,
We were born like sound from both the palms of our hands.

Musawī Khān, to whom a reference has already been made, held him in high esteem. Himself a scholar and poet, he showed great reverence for the subject of our article. Sarkhwush mentions that whenever he went to see Musawī Khān, while lecturing on Arabic to his students, he stopped on his approach and observed :—

با سرخوش صحبت تصوّف و شعر تازہ میداریم

'Let us associate anew with Sarkhwush for Sufism and poetry.' He also remarked :—

در ہند کہ آمدم ہمي سہ شاعر دیدم - غني و ناصر علی و سرخوش

'When I came to India, I found these three poets,—Ghanī, Nāṣir 'Alī, and Sarkhwush.'

Regarding his own poetry, Sarkhwush narrates an interesting dream which he had one night. A venerable old man, stick in hand, is standing by. Mirza Khalīl (whose account he has given in his Tadhrirah) introduces me to him, saying 'Your Holiness, here is poet Sarkhwush.' I asked Mirza Khalīl, 'who is this holy man?' 'He is Ḥaḍrat 'Ali, may Allah's peace be on him,' he replies. 'I run and place my head at his feet.' Placing his hand upon my back, he remarks: "During your age, no poet will come up to your level." Then this humble self was anxious to see the realisation of such remarks made by the 'King of all saints,' knowing that there were many poets like him. Mirza Md. Beg Kathar, a holy man, remarked 'You are both a poet and a gnostic.' Mirza Bedil said, 'Poetry means right comprehension of ideas; in this respect you stand unrivalled.'[1]

As hinted above, Sarkhwush was given to Sufism.

Sarkhwush died at the advanced age of seventy-six in 1127/1715 in the 4th year of Farrukh Siyar's reign in Delhi and lies buried near about Qadam-i-Rasūl. The author of the Ṣuḥaf gives آه افضل دهر (Ah Afḍal-i-dahr) as the chronogram for the poet's death. Another is given by the author of the Nishtar 'Ishq.

چون محمد افضل از دنیا سوی جنّت برفت
اهل دنیا را بسي رنج و الم گردید حیف
از حروف با نقط جوئید سال او که دل گفت
هي هي سرخوش جادورقم کوچید حیف

When Muhammad Afḍal departed to paradise from this world;
Alas! the people of the world grieved much for him;
Find out from the dotted letters, the year (of his death), as the heart said;
Oh! oh! Sarkhwush of enchantment passed away alas!

The dotted letters خ (khā), ش (shīn), ج (jīm), ق (qāf), چ (chā), ي (yā), ف (fā), of the underlined hemistich give the numerical value 1126/1714 which is the year of death of Sarkhwush according to this author.

The author of the Gul-i-Ranā has another chronogram آه عارف پاک ز جهان رفت Alas! the holy man passed away from the world!

[1] Kalimat-ush-Shuara. The State Library, Rampur MS. No. A. ff. 38-39.

Khwushgu gives an account of the poet's death thus :—On the 30th of Muḥarram 1126/1714 Sarkhwush was in the agony of death. Even in this state, he composed the following quatrain,

سرخوش کار آلـه فضل و کـرم است
از معصیت و سیاه کاری چه غم است
رخشیـدن برق بیـن و جوش بـاران
رحمت چه فزون غضب چه بسیار کم است

Sarkhwush ! the work of Allah is mercy and favour ;
Why are you afraid of sin and misdeeds ?
Look at the flash of lightning and the tumult of rain ;
Let mercy be infinite, wrath unbounded, (even then) this is nothing !

and making it over to Faḍl-ullah, a calligraphist, asked him to write it large on his winding-sheet. Turning towards the audience, he said, 'When I shall be in the next world and they ask me as to my virtues, I shall submit this very quatrain. If they grant me salvation, well and good ; if not, I shall say 'the poetic talent of the spiritual world has been fully tested, *i.e.*, they cannot appreciate poetry.' After this, he breathed his last.

Sarkhwush as Poet and Scholar

Sarkhwush was a poet of rank. As cited before, Musawī Khān used to say :

در هند که آمدم همي سه شاعر دیدم - غنيٌ و ناصرعلی و سرخوش

'By the time I came to India, I found these three poets :—Ghanī, Nāṣir 'Alī and Sarkhwush.'

The remarks made by Musawī Khān are of great importance. No poetical works of Sarkhwush have come down to us. But in the Kalimat-ush-Shuara, a considerable number of his verses have been given by himself, which throw a flood of light on the merit of the poet. According to the author of the Gul-i-Ranā, Sarkhwush also left two dīwāns, consisting of Qaṣīdas, Ghazals and Rubāis and Mathnawi poems, but due to his son's carelessness they were lost.

Sarkhwush writes that poet Ṣaidī came to India during the time of Shāh Jahān. He placed himself at the gate of the Queen. One

day it so happened that she rode to the garden on an elephant, when the poet recited the opening line,

برقع برخ افگنده برد ناز بباغش
تا نکهت گل بیخته آید بدماغش

'Putting a veil on her face, she goes to the garden, in blandishment, so that the scent of the rose may reach her brain.'
The queen was very much pleased with this and she rewarded him with five hundred rupees.

The following couplets, cited below, will give an idea of his poetry :—

کفر و دین متفق بوحدت او * سخن هر دو لب یکی باشد
در اهل جهان بود قناعت کمتر * مادر زادست حرص در طبع بشر
محال است این که بعد از مرگ هم دست از تو بردارم
که گر من خاک گردم، گرد دامان تو خواهم شد
چه گفت و گوی که چشمش نمیکند بامن
ازو بپرس که داند زبان آهو را
ز دست و پای زدن بسمل تو دانستم
که بعد کشته شدن، هم تلاشها باقیست

Faith and infidelity both proclaim His unity ;
A word uttered by both the lips is one and the same.
Contentment is seldom found in the people of the world ;
Avarice is an ingredient in the make-up of man's nature.
It is not possible that even after death I shall withdraw from you,
Even if I turn into dust, I shall move round your skirt.
What speech is there that his eyes do not make towards me!
Ask him (about this) who understands the tongue of the deer.
From the tossing of the hand and feet of your half-killed game, I knew,
That even after being killed, there is search (after me).

Sarkhwush had a fine taste for poetry. His replicas to the verses of standard poets speak for themselves. Qumi Āṣif composed a poem, opening with the following lines :—

کشیده ام ز جنون ساغری که هوش نماند
دگر معامله با پیر می فروش نماند

'I have taken a cup of the wine of madness such that I lost all sense and I had no business with the elder of wine-sellers.'

Sarkhwush capped it with the following verse :—

گداخت حیرت حسن توام خروش نماند
چو برگ گل ' ز تنم ' جز لب خموش نماند

'Bewilderment born out of your beauty melted me, I had no voice ! There remained nothing in my body, but the silent lips like the rose-petal.'

Md. Ibrahim Inṣāf, a pupil of Musawi Khān wrote this couplet :—

حامل خورشید و حدت ' رنگ هستي‌هاي ماست
چون زمین از پیش بردارند روز و شب یکیست

'The colour of our existence contains the sun of unity, If they withdraw the eath from before us, day and night are one and the same.'

Sarkhwush put it in a more pointed way

حامل خورشید و حدت ' شد غبار هستیم
چون بساط خاک ' بر چینند ' روز و شب یکیست

The improvement made by Sarkhwush can be appreciated by one who knows the original. It is really more than meets the ears.

Bedil extemporised thus :—

شخص پیري ' نقش هستی میکند هشیار باش
صورت قد دوتا ' آئینهٔ ترکیب دلاست

'Old age undermines the vital frame, take care !

The picture of the bent stature reflects the nature of ' La '[1] (naught *i.e.*, nothingness).'

Sarkhwush capped it thus :—

جلوه گاه نقش پیري تختهٔ مشق فناست
صورت قد دوتا ' آئینهٔ ترکیب لاست

'The splendour-chamber of the frame of old age is the board of annihilation,

The picture of the bent stature is the mirror of " La ".

These illustrations are sufficient to determine the claims of Sarkhwush to poetic excellence.

1 "La" is an Arabic word, meaning "not." It has this shape ' لا ' to which a bent stature can be compared.

The works by Sarkhwush may be enumerated below :—

(1) نور علی نور (Nurun ' Ala Nūr)—In imitation of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rumi's Mathnavi.

(2) حسن و عشق (Husn wa ' Ishq).—A romantic poem.

(3) ساقي نامه (Ṣāqī-nama).—A wine poem.

(4) Two mathnawis—one entitled قضا و قدر (Qaḍā wa Qaḍr), the other on some peculiarities of India.

(5) جنگ نامه محمد اعظم شاه (Jang-namā-i-Muḥammad ' Aẓamshāh) —A war-poem describing the exploits of Muḥammad ' Aẓam Shāh.

(6) Two dīwāns consisting of qaṣīdas, ghazals, Rubāis and miscellaneous poems, which were lost owing to his son's carelessness.

(7) جوش و خروش (Jūsh wa Kharūsh)—A prose work.

THE MS. OF THE KALIMATUSH-SHUARA

It is an anthology of the Persian poets that flourished during the reign of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. It contains about two hundred notices on poets, some of whom were the contemporaries of our poet, and with some of whom he came in contact.

The idea of the poet in compiling this work was to fill up the gap, which he noticed in the chain of anthologies. Most works of this nature dealt with the lives of Persian poets, beginning from Rudakī down to the time of Emperor Akbar.

These were, says Sarkhwush, *scrap-books* بیاض containing the poems by those who came afterwards, but they were not properly compiled. This want, which was keenly felt by Sarkhwush, led him to compile an anthology entitled the Kalimāt-ush-Shu'arā, the title being the chronogram for its commencement 1193/1689. It is also known as the Tadhkira-i-Sarkhwush. He says in the preface to his work :—

عزیز اینکه بیشتر بتالیف و ترتیب تذکرهٔ شعرا پرداخته اند ابتدا از احوال و اشعار حکیم رودکي کرده تا به سخنوران عهد خویش رسانده اند - اکثر تواریخ و تذکره تا زمان اکبر بادشاه رقمی گشته -

مناسب چنان مي نماید که چون درین ایام رواج سخنان رنگین خیالان معني تازه یابان بسیار است - و اشعار جواهرعیار ایشان بیاضي و بر

روی کار - اگر ترتیب احوال و تدوین اقوال ایشان نموده آید بجاست - لهذا تتمه از احوال و اقوال سخن سنجان عصر نور الدین جهانگیر بادشاه تا نازک خیالان عهد عالمگیر شاه که پایهٔ معنی یابی را بمعراج کمال رسانده اند - و فقیر سر خوش فیض صحبت بعضی دریافته و بعضی نسبت هم عصری داشته کم و بیش موافق حروف تهجی بقید قلم و ضبط رقم آورده بکلمات الشعرا موسوم گردانیده تاریخش نیز از نام بر آورده -[1]

It contains notices on poets alphabetically arranged. There is very valuable information embodied in them. The work is regarded as an authority for the period concerned and it is invariably quoted by later writers, *e.g.*, Āzād, Khān-i-Ārzū, Quḍra-llullah, etc.

Poetical quotations given under these notices are mostly taken from the Gulshan-i-Fiṭrat of Mīr Mu'iz Musawī Khān, from the selections made by Mīr Md. Zamān Rāsikh, and also Mīr Md. Māhir of Akbar-Abad, who are well-known for their taste of poetry and are regarded authorities. Sarkhwush has given a number of chronograms towards the end of his book.

MSS. of the Kalimāt ush-Shu'ara are by no means rare. Copies are available in distinguished libraries both in India and outside. The contents of these MSS., the order and arrangement of notices on poets, are almost the same, with very little variants.

Note.—I had to consult the following MSS. in preparing the text of the Kalimāt-ush-Shu'arā, which is in progress :—

(1) MS. preserved in the State Library of Rampur—Jated A. H. 1129.

This MS. was transcribed by Md. Māh at the order of Lālā Anand Rām Mukhliṣ on Friday, afternoon A. H. 1129 in the sixth year of Farrukh Siyar's reign. It bears the seal of Muhammad Shāh Bādshah Ghāzī.

(2) This MS. was transcribed on the 27th Jamādi II, A H. 1210, at Lucknow from the copy of Rai Husaini Lal.

(3) MS. preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, dated A. H. 1111 (43rd year of Aurangzeb's reign) or 26th January, 1700, still within the life-time of the author.

(4) MS. preserved in the private collections of Prof. Mahfuzul-Haq, dated A. H 1120 still within the life-time of the author.

[1] Kalimāt-ush-Shuárā, J.R.A.S.B., MS. No 51, ff. 2-3.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

The 16th. All India Educational Conference, Udaipur

Dr. Sir Shah Muhamad Sulaiman, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, LL.D., Kt., Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and Judge, Federal Court, Delhi, will preside over the 16th. All-India Educational Conference, to be held at Udaipur, from December 27 to 30, 1940.

Rangoon University

The Convocation of the Rangoon University was held on November 22. U. Tin Zut, I.C.S., Chancellor, presided.

Dacca University

The Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University has nominated Mrs. Sujata Roy, Principal, Kamarunnessa Girls' College and a member of the Dacca University Court, it is learnt, as the representative of this University on the Advisory Board of Women's Education, Bengal.

Lecture on Problem of Rural Sanitation

The importance of sanitation with reference to the development of cottage industries in rural areas was stressed by Mr. S. K. Chakravarty, a Fellow of Calcutta University, in a lecture delivered at the Government Industrial Museum, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.

Mr. Chakravarty pointed out that in spite of chronic unemployment, young men now-a-days were disinclined to go back to villages to pursue either agricultural or other industrial vocations. The salient points in the reasons they gave were ill-health and bad sanitation in the countryside.

The lecturer discussed the various problems of rural sanitation particularly of pure water-supply and disposal of refuse. As regards the former he enumerated the different sources on which rural water supply was dependent. In case of a stream having regular ebb and tide he suggested that the water should be drawn at high tide. Where the source of supply was a tank, water drawn from this source should be treated with alum and even boiled in certain circumstances. The tank should be kept clear of all weeds and vegetation and dug down to a depth where a sandy layer was available below the sub-soil water level. As regards well-water he advocated the setting up of a filter with earthenware pots on a tripod with charcoal and sand for filtration.

Bengal Library Association

The usefulness of library movement in India was emphasized by Mr. W. C. Wordsworth when he gave away certificates to the successful candidates of the fourth summer course of training in librarianship recently held by the Bengal Library Association.

The function took place at the Central Library of Calcutta University in the Asutosh Building, College Square.

After stressing the important part that libraries play in education, Mr. Wordsworth said that in England it was now realized that a good library was an essential part of public health and no town was properly constituted which had not a well-equipped library and a trained librarian who knew how to bring the books under his care to the use of the public. Library work was new to India. They must not only have their books but they must also know how to take care of their books. This was where the utility of this Association came in. It was doing something ; indeed, it was doing more than what had ever been done in India in this respect. It was trying to establish the view that library work should be a learned profession and their duty to make it an appreciated one. They were just at the beginning and it was their duty to make the profession appreciated. Such pioneer work imposed hard work and sacrifice.

Mr. Wordsworth paid a tribute to those who gave voluntary help to the Association, and concluded by congratulating the successful candidates.

Mr. Munindra Deb Ray Mahashaya, President of the Association, said that 25 candidates took the training course of whom 15 were successful. It was a gratifying feature that for the first time four women joined training classes this year and of these two were successful.

Dr. Niharranjan Ray, Director, gave a short account of the work of the training course.

Paris' Varsities Closed

All Paris Universities have been closed by the Nazis after the recent incident, according to a Paris message to the "New York Times" *via* Berlin.

It was reported earlier that several students were executed on the spot during recent demonstrations when they are said to have "made remarks to German soldiers."

Miscellany

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IN THE U. S. A.

In May and June there was a sharp increase in industrial activity, following a decline earlier in the year, and during the past two months output has again been near the peak level reached in the latter part of 1939, says the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (Washington, D.C.) of August, 1940.

Income payments, which had declined less than production in the first four months of this year, have also advanced recently as a result of increases in employment. Distribution of commodities to domestic consumers has been largely sustained near the levels reached in the latter part of last year, and exports, though below the peak reached last winter, have continued in much larger volume than before the outbreak of war.

Wholesale prices of basic commodities have generally continued to decline in recent months, but prices of some products have remained near the advanced levels reached earlier. In the security markets prices of common stock have shown little change following the rapid decline that occurred in May. Prices of Government securities and of corporate bonds have increased since the early part of June and have reached levels not far below those prevailing in the early part of the year. Volume of trading on the exchanges has been very small during the past two months.

The course of commodity and security prices, productive activity, employment, and income during the past year has been to a large extent influenced directly or indirectly by international developments. Current conditions are being greatly affected by prospects for defence preparations and realignment of many international trade relationships as well as by purchases in this country by belligerent nations.

At the outset of the war, a wave of buying largely by domestic manufacturers and distributors stimulated activity, reversed a gradual downward movement in prices, increased employment and income, and led to some expansion in consumer purchasing. Foreign demand for many industrial products like steel, copper, and airplanes increased sharply and exports of cotton were exceptionally large, but foreign buying of tobacco, fruits, and numerous other agricultural commodities was curtailed.

After the initial spurt in early autumn, buying of manufactured products, particularly of durable goods, declined somewhat, according to figures compiled by the Department of Commerce, but continued through the winter and spring generally at a higher level than in the first half of 1939. Shipments rose less sharply and also declined somewhat after November, but have remained some 15 or 20 per cent. larger in value than in the corresponding months of last year. Production increased through the latter part of 1939, and there was a considerable accumulation of inventories, primarily of semi-furnished products and raw materials. Notwithstanding some curtailment in output of semi-finished products in the early months of 1940, the total of manufacturers' inventories, according to the Department of Commerce data, continued about 10 or 12 per cent. larger in value than a year ago.

Prices of commodities receded last autumn and winter after the initial sharp advances. Foodstuff prices decreased under the influence of large

domestic supplies and as it became evident that foreign demands would not be large in the near future. Many imported commodities, which had risen because of the fear of shortages in transport facilities as well as higher shipping costs, declined after the turn of the year as current needs were adequately supplied. Prices of domestic industrial materials also declined, but in general were supported by the high level of production maintained in many important consuming lines such as machinery and transportation equipment.

Sustained activity in these industries and continued uncertainties with regard to the availability of supplies were important factors preventing general liquidation of inventories during the spring. Another element in the picture subsequently was the growing recognition that a large defence program would be undertaken in this country. Adoption of such a program focussed attention on the possibilities of bottlenecks in particular industries and was one factor stimulating a further increase in buying by industry in recent months. New orders have been in larger volume than shipments, with the result that the volume of unfilled orders, which had declined from early peak levels, has increased somewhat Thus at the beginning of the second half of the year manufacturers held inventories larger than a year earlier but were also producing and shipping substantially more goods and had on hand much larger unfilled orders. Outlays for capital equipment were increasing partly to provide facilities for output of armaments and partly to anticipate increased demands for other types of goods.

Total non-agricultural employment has increased by about a million persons in the past year with more than half of the expansion occurring at manufacturing establishments and a considerable part of the remainder in the mining industry. In most other major groups of industries increases have been small. With a continued growth in population during this period, the decline in unemployment has probably been around half a million, and the number of persons out of work is still large.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

KURAL, THE TAMIL CLASSIC

According to Swami Vipulananda in the *Vedanta Kesari* (Madras, 1940), universality of the teachings of Thirukkural is indeed remarkable. When the student of Kural meets with some arresting thought expressing some universal aspect of human nature or human conduct in the writings of other thinkers of other ages and climes, he can easily find a parallel in this book of books. Here are a few instances: "I think the first virtue is to restrain the tongue ; he approaches nearest to the gods who knows how to be silent, even though he is in the right" (Cato). *Adakam amararul uikkum adangkamai arirul uiththu vidum* (Kural 121). "The true rule, in determining to embrace or reject anything, is not whether it has any evil in it, but whether it has more of evil than of good... There are few things wholly evil or wholly good. Almost everything, especially of government policy, is an inseparable compound of the two, so that our best judgment of the preponderance between them is continually demanded" (Abraham Lincoln). *Kuna nadik kutramum nadi mikai nadi mikka kolsl* (Kural 504). "If you really want to judge of the character of a man look not at his

great performances. Every fool may become a hero at one time or another. Watch a man do his most common actions, those are indeed the things which will tell you the real character of a great man" (Swami Vivekananda). *Perumaikkum enaich Chium aikkum thaththam karumiame kattalaikkal* (Kural 505).

In the *Yoga Sutras* of Bhagavan Patanjali, the second chapter that treats of the discipline and practice of Yoga is by far the most important. The topics treated in this chapter may be found (fully developed, in many cases) in the following chapter of the *Kural*: 1. Worship of God, 8. Affection, 10. Kind words, 12. Uprightness, 13. Self-control, 14. Purity of Conduct, 15. Non-desiring of another's wife, 16. Forgiveness, 17. Non-envying, 18. Nn-coveting, 19. Refraining from Slander, 20. Refraining from vain words, 21. Shunning Evil, 23. Charity, 25. Mercy, 26. Refraining from meat-eating, 27. Austerities, 28. Continence, 29. Non-stealing, 30. Truthfulness, 31. Abstaining from Anger, 32. Non-injuring, 33. Non-killing, 35. Renunciation, 36. Attainment of True Wisdom; Self-realisation, 37. The Conquest of Desire, 40. Learning, 42. Listening to the instruction of the Wise, 43. Knowledge, 44. Freeing from the six Inner faults, 45. Seeking the help of Worthy Men, 46. Keeping away from bad company, 58. Considerateness, 61. Absence of Sloth, 66. Purity of action, 67. Strength of Character, 79. Friendship, 84. Ignorance, 85. Conceit. 90. Refraining from offending the Great Ones, 97. Honour, 98. Greatness, 99. Worthiness, 100. Propriety, 101. Sensitiveness to shame, 107. The dread of beggary. About one-third of *Kural* is, thus found to be a treatise on *Yoga-Sastra*. Chapter 36 gives a *resumé* of the other topics dealt with by Pa tanjali. Again chapters 5 to 24 treating of the house-h older's *Dharma* and chapters 25 to 38 speaking of *Sannyasa Dharma* may together be taken as constituting a *Dharma-Sastra*. Chapters 39 to 108 constitute a treatise on *Artha-Sastra*, not merely theoretical, but practical—these would have certainly helped the Imperial Cholas to rule over their vast territories with righteousness and firmness. Chapters 109 to 115 treating of courtship and chapters 116 to 133 speaking of chaste wedded love are lyrical in sense. They vastly differ from the writings of Vatsyayana and such other authors; for, the love treated here is the pure love between husband and wife, the tender affection on which the whole fabric of social life is based. These chapters can also be interpreted (in the light shed by another great Tamil work, *St. Manikka-Vachakar's Thirukkovaiyar*) as treating of the mystic union between God and the human soul. As such, this section may be said to deal with *Prema-bhakti*, even as King Solomon's "Song of Songs" in the Bible expresses the soul's intense devotion to the Lord.

The similarities between Aristotle, Kautilya and Thiruvalluvar are so many that they need separate treatment. We are tempted to point out that chapters 64 to 73 contain the essence of Aristotle's rhetoric. Based on these and other Tamil works, the present writer delivered a course of three special lectures on "Tamil Rhetoric" under the auspices of the Annamalai University. Another great Greek book, *The Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans*, bears a very close resemblance to Kural. This is a book of daily meditations, ascribed to Pythagoras who has been justly celebrated as a Trainer of Souls. The *Golden Verses* do indeed give all the essential principles required for the right ordering of physical, affectional, intellectual, and devotional life. When they are put into regular practice all the real and lasting virtues of the Soul follow spontaneously as natural fruits of a well-ordered life. The book is extremely condensed; the English translation in verse consists of 82 lines. Here are a few extracts from the *Golden*

Verses and the numbers of the *Kural* couplets which are almost identical in sense and expression:

"Wealth comes and goes
Of ills, the Goddess Fortune gives to man
Bear meekly thou thy lot, not grieve at it,
But cure it as thou canst. Remember this:
Fate gives the least of evil to the good
Many the reasonings that on men's ears
Fall ; good and bad. Admire not all of such
Nor shun them neither ".

(Kurals 332, 339, 379, 423).

"If one speaketh false,
Be calm. And practise over this that now
I say. Let no man's word or deed seduce thee
To do or say aught not to thy best good.
First think, then act ; lest foolish be thy deed.
Unhappy he who thoughtless acts and speaks".

(Kurals 159, 157, 467).

The whole of the *Golden Verses* can be found in about forty-four couplets of the *Kural.*

Another noticeable fact is that the moral themes, the grand, arguments on which some of the great poems of Tamil literature are based can be reduced to two or three couplets from the *Kural.* The story of Silappadhikaram is well-known to students of Tamil literature. " The argument " of that poem centres round three moral truths: (1) He who deviates from the path of righteousness in administering justice will be slain by righteousness itself, (2) She that is endowed with the virtue of chastity is praised by the wise, (3) Destiny will unerringly pursue and destroy its victim. These three truths are enshrined in the couplets, 32, 54 and 380 of the *Kural. Jivaka-Chintamani*, which is counted as the first among the *Maha-Kavyas* of Tamil, incorporates many couplets (*Chintamani* 509, *Kural* 621. *Ch.* 409, *K.* 361. *Ch.* 341-*K.* 1120, etc.). Kamban, the court-poet of the Imperial Cholas, has, in his version of the *Ramayana,* introduced the word and substance of many couplets from the *Kural.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

WHAT IS INSTITUTIONAL DISORGANIZATION ?

The basic socio-psychological aspect of disorganization in institutions is the disequilibrium and discoordination of relationships among persons in institutional rôles, says J. F. Cuber in the *American Sociological Review* for August, 1940. This condition may be brought about through a weakening of subordination-superordination patterns, a conflict over values of sufficient importance to impede established functioning, or a weakening of institutional sanctions for behavior which the institution has routinized. These conditions, however, become significant as indicators of disorganization only when the degree of their presence is sufficient to disturb institutional relationships among persons and thus to impede functioning. Obviously,

the use of terms such as "degree" and "sufficient" implies a comparison. The implied comparison is between conditions at a given time and a "norm of organization" which the student of the institution has previously discovered. The so-called norm of organization is really a maximum and minimum limit of the amount of violation of subordination-superordination, value disagreement, and unstandardized behavior which the organization can assimilate and define as "normal." The discovery of this norm-range of "disorganization tendencies" (which is short of disorganization as the term is here used) involves a fundamental methodological problem which the student of objective disorganization cannot escape.

It seems impossible to determine from an examination of conditions at a given time, except in historical context, whether or not disorganization exists. Since a comparison is implied in the concept, a time-sequence study is implied in its application to observed phenomena. From an intensive contemporary study of family, the student might find a degree of interpersonal coordination of behavior which might seem "low" and would suggest to him a possible condition of disorganization, but he might find that the traditional and accepted organization of that group provided for approximately that degree of coordination and not necessarily any more. It is thus defined by the members. The family might be less organized than some other one, but this disorganization as here used implies not a comparison between institutions but a *linear* comparison in a *given* institution.

The principal, if not indispensable, research technique or group of techniques for the determination of the degree of organization-disorganization manifested in a given institution at a given time is the long-time institutional case study as suggested by Cooley and used by numerous sociologists who write 'natural histories" of groups. With the passing of time, fluctuations in the coordination of social rôles can be noted and the minimum norms of organization revealed. That this is a subtle problem and involves precision in observation and insight is obvious. Possibly research techniques are not yet sufficiently precise to permit such work.

Perhaps the most difficult methodological problem encountered arises in connection with long-run studies of institutions in which the norms of organization change. A system of interrelationships which may be regarded objectively as disorganization at one time may be (under a different definition of the requisite norms of organization) regarded as organization at a later time. Thus for example, many contemporary metropolitan families are based upon an integration of rôles which is regarded *by them* as adequate today, but which would have been regarded as "intolerable looseness" two generations ago in the same city and in the same social stratum. Similarly, a church in an interstitial urban area may be satisfactorily organized for successful functioning without even a membership rsle and no "pledges" of financial support. Thirty years ago that would have been disorganization —now it maintains organization ; the requisites of the participant rôle of church members in that church have been changed. For this reason, a *continuous* set of data on institutional rôle patterns and interpersonal interactions is imperative in order that the referent be clear when disorganization is alleged. There is a fundamental difference between mere change in the norm of organization of an institution and disorganization which involves a disruption of the requisite relationships and rôles which have existed preceding the alleged "disorganization."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE JUTE, COFFEE AND COTTON TRADES IN WAR TIME

Weakness of Jute.—Jute has been conspicuous during these past few weeks by the feeble tendency of the markets in Calcutta and Dundee. More recently it has been reported that the jute trade in Dundee expects an improvement of demand owing to the possibility of delays in the arrival of raw material, and an increase in enquiries has, indeed, been noted. The factor is, however, unlikely to alter the position of the world market to any material extent. The weakness of the jute market, at a time when other Eastern commodities experience a pressure of demand both here and in New-York, is due in the first place to the apparent failure of the measures hitherto taken by the Bengal Government for the stabilisation of the price of jute. The Government has announced its intention to buy a limited, though substantial, part of this year's crop in order to keep prices about a minimum, but this statement of the Government's policy has not been sufficient to prevent a further decline bringing the quotation of first below the minimum price. The weak tone must, secondly, be attributed to the continuing reports of very favourable crop prospects. Finally, news from the important consuming countries suggest that the demand during the coming year will, if anything, be smaller than was expected a few months ago. The whole of the Continental market has been lost as a result of the war, and from the United States it is reported that consumers of jute who, owing to the excessively high prices ruling before the end of last year, had changed over to other materials have not all returned to jute as prices decline to more normal levels. Great encouragement is, of course, given in the United States to the use of cotton bags as a substitute of hessians. They are more expensive but offer special attractions which cannot be claimed for jute bags. *The Statist* (London, June 22, 1940).

Exports to Mediterranean.—The Board of Trade have made the Export of Goods (Control No. 16) Order, 1940 (S. R. & O. 1940, No. 959, price 1 d.), which came into force on June 13. Under this Order the export of all classes of goods to Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Liechtenstein, Roumania, Switzerland, Jugoslavia and Black Sea ports in the U. S. S. R. is prohibited except under board of trade licence. This step has been taken as a result of Italy's entry into the war, in order to enable the necessary control to be exercised over exports to the Mediterranean and adjacent areas. It is not, however, to be regarded in any sense as a decision to discontinue trade with neutral countries in these areas.

A revocation of outstanding licences for exports to the destinations in question has been issued at the same time (S. R. & O., 1940, No. 960, price 1 d) ; this does not preclude the issue of fresh licences in appropriate circumstances. Further, the revocation does not affect existing open general export licence for coal, coke and manufactured fuel, under which the procedure for the issue of coal export certificates by the Mines Department was established. This procedure will be continued and no coal can be exported to these destinations without an export certificate. *The Statist* (London, June 22, 1940).

British Industrial Developments.—In the home jute industry during the past month, little of importance has taken place. Business has generally been slow, but the Dundee jute trade expects to be running at full capacity in the near future. The Belgian and French jute industries are now lost to the Allies, and Dundee will have to produce jute goods of various descriptions to replace those which have been lost in the evacuation of Belgium and France. In addition, the requirements for the defence of our own country are likely to be enormous. Fortunately, arrivals of

Calcutta goods in the shape of sand-bags and camouflaged hessian have been on a large scale and these are now likely to be of value, though they have recently been a disturbing factor to the Dundee industry, which has been, and still is, curtailing production by stopping machinery or working short time. Prices have been forced down, but spinners and manufacturers are now not so anxious to sell. The Government, through the Jute Control, may now acquire the whole of the production of Dundee and commandeer supplies of Calcutta goods. The prospects for the new crop are favourable. *The Economist Trade Supplement* (London, June 29, 1940).

Loss of European Markets.—The war has not, of course, been felt with equal force by all American producers. Its effect was probably greatest in the coffee trade ; the restrictions on civilian consumption of luxuries in many European countries and difficulties of shipping have resulted in a severe contraction of exports in many coffee growing countries. It has been felt less severely in the sugar producing countries of Central America, as the continuation of American purchases on a large scale and the placing of very important orders by the British Government have enabled these countries to sell most of their exportable surplus ; on the other hand, the smaller States of Central America have been hit very severely by lack and irregularity of shipping. The extension of agricultural production by introduction of new crops has generally proved an advantage, but the disposal of some of the Government-assisted productions is meeting with great difficulties ; this applies especially to cotton, though British purchases are understood to have brought relief to several South American States. The problem of disposing of surplus agricultural products is especially difficult in the case of certain commodities of which the United States are also a surplus producer, cotton and tobacco in particular. In other trades where the position appears somewhat critical, as for example, coffee, the large American market places the authorities in Washington in a very strong position. *The Statist* (London, June 22, 1940)—Indian Central Jute Committee Bulletin No. 6 (September, 1940).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

TREND OF WESTERN CULTURE

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY,
Professor of Anthropology, Calcutta University.

The long era of peace and prosperity that was ushered into Great Britain, after the fall of Napoleon, created a certain complacence of thought in that country, which may be summed up by the idea that everything was all right in the world. Everything was certainly all right in the world of the Briton, who was steadily extending his sway over the other continents of the world. France the old rival of England was no longer strong enough to compete and all the powers that counted were busy trying to carve out and consolidate imperial domains outside Europe. The fate of the conquered people, of advanced as well as lowly cultures, was pushed into the background of thought so as not to create disharmony in the midst of placidity. Occasionally, a too great outrage on such folk created a stir, but the public conscience was easily soothed. At heart the leaders were well aware that everybody was out to make the best for himself. So long as a man served at the same time the interest of the people in power, it did not matter if some or many foreigners of non-European descent were treated, pretty badly in the process. The social tradition required that notice should be taken of such a fact when attention was specifically drawn to it. But the ugliness of the details could always be gracefully draped over by the fiction that the benefits of civilization were being conferred on these men of a different race and culture. Civilization like the surgeon's knife was painful in its operation ; but it healed in the end ; and the whole process was represented as constituting the white man's burden.

This self-sufficiency in thought received a rude shock in the early years of the twentieth century when other powers insisted that they should have a bigger share of the spoils. Then came the War of 1914-18 stripping away the pretence of idealism that had enveloped the true character of nationalism in Western Europe. The peace that came after it and the subsequent redistribution of spheres of influence threw further light on the realities. The moves that followed on the chess board of European politics had behind them not the slightest vestige of idealistic motives, and only a few professional politicians repeated the obsolete catchwords for the purposes of propaganda among the common people. But to the thinker and observer, unless wilfully blind, very little illusion was left. We have had in consequence during the past two decades a series of reviews, by students of politics, philosophy and society, of the affairs of Western Europe. Many of these works have been in the nature of documents furnishing facts regarding war and the silent struggle that from time to time blazes forth into war. A few represent the reactions of prominent thinkers and artists to such an environment. A more ambitious and critical work has been undertaken by Mr. Creedy [1]. He has attempted to make a complete survey of the social and psychological facts of western culture.

[1] Human Nature writ large—by F. Creedy, with a foreword by Bronislav Malinowski, London, 1939. George Allen and Unwin, London—15*s* nett. The Mss. are stated to have been sent to Press just before the war.

As Mr. Creedy states, following well established psychological views, there are certain innate and primal psychologic urges such as self-preservation, reproduction, co-operation with others, and creative intellectual activity, in all m n. For social harmony and progress it is essential that these tendencies should work themselves out without conflict as far as possible. In every society, a position of equilibrium is attained after a certain amount of trial and error, when a code of behaviour is reached which partly at least satisfies these requirements. Tradition makes all men conform more or less to such a rule of living. Symbols which later evoke feelings besides calling forth sensory images, are associated in such fashion by training in childhood. This conditioning in the early years leads the child to respond emotionally in a definite manner to symbols concerned with religion, patriotism, sex and objects of art. The rule of living is obviously based on the early habits so formed.

The conditioning that occurs in childhood is secured mainly through stories, discourses and anecdotes exemplifying ideals of behaviour before the child, and also by holding up some one or more persons as living exemplars of the same. In adult life, the place of these factors is taken by the upper classes and the part they play in society. They serve, at least in a stable condition of society as living examples of the success attained by following the orthodox and therefore proper code of conduct, in different spheres of life.

Man's creative faculties are not however satisfied by a more or less automatic following of set rules. Unfortunately, whenever any deviation is made, and is found to further the satisfaction of the primal urges without undue conflict it tends to be incorporated into the traditional habit system. The tendency to break away from the routine activity is therefore always present, and finds its outlet in various ways. The energy necessary for a vigorous display of such activity can be available only if a sufficient surplus is left, after satisfying the requirements of the code.

An important outlet for the surplus energy is to be found in the attempt to arrive at a greater harmony than is possible by following the "crowd habits." The unhappiness caused by conflict of the different urges may be sought to be avoided by discarding to a certain extent the compulsive routine activities and aiming at happiness through conduct which leads to inner harmony. Social life is not however possible without social contacts ; also very few people can find satisfaction of their inner urges in withdrawal from all contacts. Hence, even a personal religion of harmony, to be capable of being practised, must aim at harmonious social rules. The author proceeds to examine three of the great religions of the world—Islam, Christianity and Buddhism—in the light of these conclusions. He finds "that the essential conduct taught by all three aims at personal and social harmony—serenity, peace of mind for all." Also, "the three religions state their rules in terms of three different sets of imagery, or myths, showing that the rules and not the myth are important."

The common man while he vaguely realises the greatness of the cult he follows cannot comprehend inner serenity and looks more to outward signs of grace. In consequence, rites and ceremonies and attendance at these become more important, and the usual type of behaviour based on the personal religion is incorporated into the social habit system. It becomes part of the routine and a fresh outlet has to be sought by the seeker after harmony.

A different outlet is furnished by the cult of nationalism. To the individual tied down to his social routine, the nation represents a larger self through whom he can realise his aspirations. It is a means of

transcending the conflicts due to repression and thereby reaching harmony. The common man, owing to the social system in which he lives, has to forego many things that he desires ; but if he can be made to feel that these are sacrifices made in the interest of the nation which is his own greater self, he is likely to be reconciled to such hardships and frustrations Some aspects of nationalism are next discussed on the basis of these conclusions. The warlike character of nationalism is stated to be due to the large surplus energy available among people who use the machine culture. At the "low mental level of the crowd, war is by far the most obvious means of enjoying emotion, excitement, adventure and drama." While it is true that intense national feeling is a modern character, and machine culture has helped to bind the nation closer, it must not be overlooked that a compact tribe corresponds to the nation, in primitive culture. Mr. Creedy's explanation of the warlike characteristics of modern European nations are not supported by data from primitive culture. Warlike tribes are not necessarily those which have a better food supply and therefore have more surplus energy left over after satisfying their primal needs ; nor do peace-loving settled tribes depend on a precarious or inadequate food supply. Other things being equal, we may say, that the type of common social activity on which the culture is based determines the outlook of the group. As Mr. Creedy notes later on, the culture heroes who come into existence are naturally those who have notable achievements to their credit, in the cause of the nation. In Western Europe, it may be noted, these achievements were mainly military in character, until the recent past. The warlike tradition and norm of behaviour of the upper classes built up during a long period in the past received a further impetus in modern times from the conquests which built up the empires. The achievements in the world of thought and even of scientific technology came comparatively late, and were also far less spectacular. Hence they could not displace the warlike culture heroes or the tradition of war and conquest. The difference in attitude towards life of the old Chinese and Indian upper classes with their culture heroes who preached love for humanity, as contrasted to that found in Western Europe is to be explained, not on the basis of inadequate food supply or lack of vigour as Mr. Creedy suggests, but on the relatively greater stress laid in these eastern cultures on achievements in other fields than warfare.

The psychology of economic life is brilliantly discussed in the next part of the work. With the decay of feudal society, their system of values ceased to be effective. But the tradition of prestige associated with great possessions and display of wealth remained. Hence money and the power that it confers took the place of feudal aristocracy without changing much the mode of display of the power. While Knight-errantry and its closely associated traditions have receded into the past, the idea persists that a person of standing must not engage in occupations which commoners or serfs followed in the old days. Hence there must be no association with common labour and menial offices. This view of life is stressed by a conspicuous display of leisure. All wealth that is accumulated cannot however be employed or consumed in such display. Nor do the personal or familial requirements of very rich men cover more than a small fraction of their whole wealth. The rest remains in modern European and American countries, mainly as book entries of right of purchase or expenditure, in various economic organisations including banks. Like political authority in the early stages of feudalism, the economic state has had, until recently, no central supreme authority, co-ordinating the activities in the entire domain. This is obviously not in the interest of the nation as a whole.

Nevertheless, a myth has been created in defence of the existing conditions. It puts forward the view that money as a commodity is scarce, that men can obtain and amass it only by skilful bargaining, as human nature is innately selfish, and that in accumulating wealth for himself each capitalist is contributing to national welfare by adding to its capital. It is tacitly assumed that each man is entitled to control what he has earned, and therefore if others require its use, including the nation, a return known as interest will have to be paid. If such wealth is used in production, the workers who get the benefit of its use are to be controlled by the capitalist. Mr. Creedy points out the underlying fallacies and why it is in the interest of the nation to have a planned economy. The advantage of a planned economic organisation for the whole nation was realised through necessity during the last war, when the ordinary rules of social and economic life broke down to a certain extent and a central body was set up to regulate it. This knowledge has found its application in different settings in Russia, Germany, Italy and America. Socialism and Communism try to obtain from each citizen such services as lie in his power, and pool these together for common benefit. Fascism demands the same from all in the name of the fatherland. The New Deal says it is trying to remove unemployment, *i.e.*, getting all the members of society engaged in useful work. Obviously under the New Deal money obtained from those who "earned" it in the old sense, is being spent on what the capitalist would describe as non-paying work. The mythology created in support of such economic action naturally differs from the classical myths of the older economists. Also the setting varies so greatly, and alters the details in each country to such an extent, that the underlying content is partly misunderstood or misrepresented. The older capitalist has no love for such systems which threaten his position.

A brief survey of sexual and family life follows. Mr. Creedy comes to the conclusion that the institutions of Western Europe "are so arranged as to make most of the pleasures of sex." According to him the sexual urge is intensified by imposing various kinds of taboo. The family is the important unit here as elsewhere and functions in a variety of ways, in which sex however plays only a small part. The women have had an ego ideal, which is not natural to them, thrust upon them by men and the social tradition created by men. The ruling class use the threat of harming the family, economically, as a weapon to keep the lower classes in their power. Monogamy, divorce only for serious reasons and virginity till marriage are capable of being "rationally defended as giving maximum harmony of natural human impulses." The difficulties that arise are due to "the onerous economic burdens imposed on married couples under capitalistic economic control," inasmuch as they prevent reasonably early marriage. Mr. Creedy has not however discussed why such sexual ideals have been partly at least abandoned in Soviet Russia, where such economic burdens are not imposed on young married couples.

The author concludes that society is an organisation at any given moment of its existence, and can be completely specified by the rules in force at the moment or what is nearly the same thing, the attitudes existing. These attitudes are impressed on us by the most elaborate training starting in infancy which makes it well nigh impossible to conceive that there could be any other way of acting. The surplus energy left over after satisfying this routine activity is diverted to "various forms of play activity, bargaining in business, war, conspicuous consumption" and so forth. These ways of dissipating energy are useless and even harmful ; and the writer tries to find some equivalent of these activities which would be useful. He suggests that "the aim of diminishing human evil, all of which is due to man's

negligence and ignorance, would be suitable." It may be noted that the emperor Asoka Maurya, after his sanguinary conquest of Kalinga came to the conclusion that the greatest victory that a monarch can achieve is that of moral persuation of his fellow men to turn to the path of right behaviour based on reason. He found in the promotion of human welfare among all the nations of the world known to him, the most effective substitute for his craving for military conquest. As human nature has not changed to any considerable degree during the past two millenia, it is not surprising that Mr. Creedy should have come to similar conclusions as a result of his survey of western culture, and his acute analysis of the underlying forces. This is the alternative that he suggests to replace the tendencies that have reached their logical culmination in the present war. Every serious student of sociology should read Mr. Creedy's book.

Ourselves

[I. Indian Political Science Conference.—II. Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur.—III. Two New Ph.D.'s.—IV. A New D.Sc.—V. Mouat Medal for 1937.—VI. All-India Obstetric and Gynaecological Congress.—VII. Ad hoc Soil Science and Agronomy Committee.—VIII. All-India Educational Conference—IX. Research and Statistical Committee.—X. Prof. J. N. Mukherjee.—XI. Indian History Congress.—XII. Three New M.D.'s.—XIII. Election of Ordinary Fellows.—XIV. Indian Academy of Sciences.—XV. Offer of Sir Ardeshir Dalal.—XVI. Jubilee Research Prize in Science, 1940.—XVII. Industrial Researches in India.—XVIII. All-India Muslim Conference.—XIX. New Matriculation Syllabus and Girls' Schools.—XX. Indian Central Jute Committee.—XXI. Re-appointment of University Professors.]

I. Indian Political Science Conference

The Third Annual Session of the Indian Political Science Conference will be held at Mysore in the last week of December, 1940, commencing on the 28th December and continuing until the 31st December.

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II. Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur

The Government of Bengal have decided that, with effect from the beginning of the current session, admission to the 1st-year class of the Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, should be suspended, to enable the Central Government to utilise this class for the training of skilled artisans in connexion with the War.

* * *

III. Two New Ph.D.'s

Mr. Kamalkrishna Basu, M.A., who submitted a thesis entitled "The Adil Peshwa of Bijapur" (1489-1580 A.D.) in support of his candidature for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, has been admitted to the Degree. His thesis was examined by a Board consisting of the following experts: Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., and Mr. Gulam Yazdani, M.A.

Mr. Nalinchandra Ganguli, M.A. (Birmingham), has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by a thesis entitled "The Indian Political Philosophy," which was examined by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. R. Shama Shastri and Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.

We congratulate Dr. Basu and Dr. Ganguli on their success.

* * *

IV. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Phanindrachandra Datta, M.Sc., who submitted a thesis entitled "Studies in the Sequiterpene Series and Studies in the Cyclopentane Series" in support of his candidature for the Degree of Doctor of Science, has been admitted to the Doctorate. His thesis was examined by Prof. W. N. Hawarth, F.R.S., N.L., Prof. I. M. Heilborn, F.R.S., and Prof. S. Smiles, F.R.S.

We congratulate Dr. Datta on his success.

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V. Mouat Medal for 1937

Srimati Bibha Majumdar, M.A., who has completed her second year's term of the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific Subjects for the year 1937, will be awarded a Mouat Medal at the forthcoming Convocation of the University in 1941.

* * *

VI. All-India Obstetric and Gynaecological Congress

The Senate and its verandahs will be lent for holding the Third Session of the above Congress and the Exhibition of Drugs and Instruments by the Manufacturing Firms in India from the 27th December to the 30th December, 1940.

* * *

VII. *Ad hoc* Soil Science and Agronomy Committee

Our University has informed the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research that it has no objection to the appointment of Prof. J. N.

Mukherjee as a member of an *Ad hoc* Soil Science and Agronomy Committee, which is being organised by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

* * *

VIII. All-India Educational Conference

Our University will be represented at the 16th Session of the All-India Educational Conference, to be held at Udaipur (Rajputana) from the 16th December to the 30th December, 1940, by Mr. Anathnath Basu, M.A. (Lond.), T.D. (Lond.).

* * *

IX. Research and Statistical Committee

Our University has informed the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research that it has no objection to the appointment of Mr. P. C. Mahalanobis as a member of an *Ad hoc* Developmental, Research and Statistical Committee, to be organised by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

* * *

X. Prof. J. N. Mukherjee

Our University has given its consent to the appointment of Prof. J. N. Mukherjee on the Editorial Committee of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for a further period of one year, which will extend until the 31st December next year.

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XI. Indian History Congress

Our University will be represented at the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress, to be held at Lahore from the 16th to the 18th December, 1940, by Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.

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XII. Three New M.D.'s

The following gentlemen have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Medicine:—

Mr. Phanindranath Brahmachari, M.Sc., M.B.
,, Sunilkrishna Datta, M.B.
,, Krishnadhan Chatterjee, M.B.

The Board of Examiners that conducted the written, oral and clinical examinations of the candidates for the M.D. Examination consisted of Dr. B. C. Roy, B.A., M.D., F.R.C.S. (Lond.), M.R.C.P (Eng.), M.S.M.F. (Bengal), Rai Bahadur T. N. Banerjee, M.B. M.R.C.P., D.T.M., and Rao Bahadur T. S. Tirumurti, B.A., M.B. C.M., D.T.M.

We congratulate Dr. Brahmachari, Dr. Chatterjee and Dr. Datta on their success.

* * *

XIII. Election of Ordinary Fellows

Subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor, the following gentlemen have been re-elected Ordinary Fellows of our University for five years with effect from the date mentioned against the name of each, the other candidates having withdrawn from the contest:—

Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy	...	14th February, 1941.
Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee	...	12th March, 1941.
,, Satyendranath Ray	...	23rd January, 1941.

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XIV. Indian Academy of Sciences

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Indian Academy of Sciences will be held at Waltair on the 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1940.

* * *

XV. Offer of Sir Dorabji Tata Charities Trust

The sum of Rupees sixty thousand has been promised by Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Sir Dorabji

Tata Charities Trust, out of the Trust Fund, towards the purchase of a Cyclotron, if the Calcutta University is prepared to pay the balance amounting to Rupees sixty thousand and to maintain it. The University has accepted the offer and has conveyed its thanks to the Board of Trustees.

* * *

XVI. Jubilee Research Prize in Science, 1940

The full value of the above Prize will be awarded to each of the two undermentioned candidates: Mr. Sarojendranath Ray and Mr. Chandrasekhar Ghosh. The former submitted a thesis entitled "Psychological Determinants in the Choice of Vocation" and the latter's thesis was entitled "The Illumination Value and Ultra-Violet Intensity of Sunlight at Calcutta."

* * *

XVII. Industrial Researches in India

The Deputy Director, Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of India, Department of Commerce, has requested the co-operation of the University in the compilation of an Annual List of industrial researches completed, in progress or contemplated in India at Government and other laboratories, including those attached to the Universities. In response to the request the University has invited Prof. Phanindranath Ghosh and Prof. Bireschandra Guha to prepare a report containing the information asked for by Government.

* * *

XVIII. All-India Muslim Educational Conference

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor, has been appointed a Delegate of this University to the Fifty-first Annual Session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, which will be held at Poona on the 28th December, 1940 and will continue its session until the 30th December.

* * *

XIX. New Matriculation Syllabus and Girls' Schools

Several Head Mistresses of Calcutta Girls' Schools have made a representation to the University regarding difficulties which they have experienced in working the New Matriculation Syllabus and which relate to the additional cost involved in teaching new subjects, the heavy time-table crowding out cultural and recreational subjects and the length of the courses belonging to the Vocational subjects. The Head Mistresses have suggested that a Committee should be appointed to discuss the situation with the Heads of Girls' Schools, with a view to arriving at a satisfactory arrangement.

The University has requested the Head Mistresses and the Secretary, Calcutta Teachers' Association, to furnish concrete and constructive proposals on the subject for its consideration.

* * *

XX. Indian Central Jute Committee

The Indian Central Jute Committee, in pursuance of its new policy of securing the close co-operation of University teachers, has co-opted, with the permission of the University, Dr. M. N. Saha, F.R.S., Palit Professor of Physics, and Dr. B. C. Guha, D.Sc., Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry, as members of its Technological Research Sub-Committee, and Dr. S. P. Agharkar, Ghose Professor of Botany, as a member of the Agricultural Research Committee.

* * *

XXI. Re-appointment of University Professors

The Senate has, subject to Government sanction, approved of the re-appointment of the following University Professors, whose terms of office would come to an end in the course of the next few months:—

Prof. Friedrich Levi, Dr.Phil.Nat., Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, with effect from the 13th January, 1941, until he attains his 60th year.

Rai Bahadur Professor Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali, with effect from the 29th February, 1941, till the 31st May, 1942.